

*The*  
AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL  
REVIEW

*Board of Editors*

LAWRENCE H. GIPSON

WILLIAM E. LUNT

A. C. KREY

CURTIS P. NETTELS

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THAD W. RIKER

*Managing Editor*

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*Assistant Editor*

CATHARINE SEYBOLD

VOLUME LI

OCTOBER, 1945, TO JULY, 1946

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# Contents of Volume LI

NUMBER 1. OCTOBER, 1945

## Articles

FROM JIMMU TENNŌ TO PERRY: SEA POWER IN EARLY JAPANESE HISTORY . . . . .	Arthur J. Marder	I
VIOLATIONS OF SECRECY IN RE SENATE EXECUTIVE SESSIONS, 1789-1929 . . . . .	R. Earl McClendon	35
CONTRABAND TRADE UNDER THE ASIEN TO, 1730-1739	George H. Nelson	55

## Notes and Suggestions

THE GRISWOLD STORY OF FRENEAU AND JEFFERSON	Philip Marsh	68
---	--------------	----

## Documents

HENRY ADAMS' "DIARY OF A VISIT TO MANCHESTER"	Arthur W. Silver	74
---	------------------	----

Reviews of Books. . . . .		90
---------------------------	--	----

Other Recent Publications . . . . .		141
-------------------------------------	--	-----

Historical News . . . . .		185
---------------------------	--	-----

NUMBER 2. JANUARY, 1946

## Presidential Address

THE AMERICAN FRONTIER—FRONTIER OF WHAT?	Carlton J. H. Hayes	199
---	---------------------	-----

## Articles

FRENCH MILITARY INSTITUTIONS BEFORE THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR . . . . .	Arpad F. Kovacs	217
THE HIGHWAY MOVEMENT, 1916-1935 . . . . .	Frederic L. Paxson	236

## Notes and Suggestions

THE DEATH OF CATHERINE I OF RUSSIA	Walther Kirchner	254
------------------------------------	------------------	-----

## Documents

COMMODORE PERRY AT OKINAWA: FROM THE UNPUBLISHED DIARY OF A BRITISH MISSIONARY	William Leonard Schwartz	262
--	--------------------------	-----

Reviews of Books. . . . .		277
---------------------------	--	-----

Other Recent Publications . . . . .		351
-------------------------------------	--	-----

Historical News . . . . .		404
---------------------------	--	-----



*Articles*

- THE PROBLEM OF THE COMMON MAN IN EARLY MEDIEVAL EUROPE . . . . . *Carl Stephenson* 419
- THE ONE-PARTY PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY  
*Charles S. Sydnor* 439
- THEODORE ROOSEVELT, THE AMERICAN NAVY, AND  
 THE VENEZUELAN CRISIS OF 1902-1903  
*Seward W. Livermore* 452

*Notes and Suggestions*

- DISPOSAL OF THE CAROLINES, MARSHALLS, AND MARIANAS AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE  
*Russell H. Fifield* 472

*Documents*

- ZACHARY TAYLOR ON JACKSON AND THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT, 1835 . . . . . *William D. Hoyt, jr.* 480

*Reviews of Books.* . . . . 485*Other Recent Publications* . . . . . 528*Historical News*

- THE ASSOCIATION IN 1945 . . . . . *Guy Stanton Ford* 574

*Articles*

- THE TWENTIETH OF JULY IN THE HISTORY OF THE GERMAN RESISTANCE . . . . . *Franklin L. Ford* 609
- BRITISH DIPLOMACY IN THE LIGHT OF ANGLO-SPANISH NEW WORLD ISSUES, 1750-1757 . . . . . *Lawrence Henry Gipson* 627
- THE PROBLEM OF BREAD AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AT BORDEAUX . . . . . *Richard Munthe Brace* 649

*Notes and Suggestions*

- LOLLARD OPPOSITION TO OATHS BY CREATURES  
*Henry G. Russell* 668

*Documents*

- THE NATIONAL BANK IN 1836: A PARTISAN APPRAISAL  
*Abraham H. Venit* 685

*Reviews of Books.* . . . . 689*Other Recent Publications* . . . . . 740*Historical News* . . . . . 788*Index* . . . . . 805

# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

*Vol. LI, No. 1*

*October, 1945*

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## From Jimmu Tennō to Perry Sea Power in Early Japanese History

ARTHUR J. MARDER\*

### I

"THE life blood of Japan is the water of the sea." So runs an ancient proverb. The Japanese wax rhapsodic over their "special relationship" to the sea. The first page of the most popular book on the imperial navy reflects their pride in being a maritime nation.

The Japanese Empire is a maritime state and we Japanese are a maritime people. The archipelago of emerald isles which stretches a thousand *ri* north and south in the Pacific is our native land, and the vast blue sea is the eternal cradle of our race. We live on the sea, we die on the sea. Since the foundation of the State, no, since the birth of the nation, our country and our people have placed their faith in the impossibility of being separated from the sea. A maritime country! A maritime people! We must be proud of these names. The reason is that a maritime country is an eternally indestructible country, and a maritime people is the ultimate victor of civilization. Since its foundation the Imperial Japanese Empire has not even

\*The author is associate professor of history in the University of Hawaii. This article is a by-product of a Rockefeller Fellowship in Japanese at Harvard in the spring of 1944.

once been trampled on by the horseshoes of a foreign enemy, because the maintenance of the integrity of our glorious country has, of course, depended from the outset on the national power of the Emperor, as a binding force, at the center; and because, from the geographical point of view, the protection of the sea really exists.<sup>1</sup>

Not only do the Japanese boast that the sea has been a natural defensive barrier which has throughout the ages protected their soil from "pollution" by an invader but they also claim that, because they have always been a maritime nation, they were able to take over and develop the cultures of India and China, thereby forming a "remarkable, great, and original culture." Moreover, the Japanese claim that their naval tradition is the oldest of any great power—that it has an "eternal history," owing to the fact that the "history of the age of the gods before the descent of Tenson, grandson of the Sun Goddess, is practically the history of the sea."<sup>2</sup> While we may smile at this flight of the imagination, it is a fact, as we shall see, that the Japanese naval tradition is older than many people think.

It must be admitted that from the maritime point of view Japan is a "surprisingly heaven-blessed country." The thousands of islands which constitute the archipelago, above all the four main islands of Japan proper, have a remarkably long and irregular coast line. The regions washed by the China Sea, the Inland Sea of Japan, and the Pacific Ocean are especially rich in indentations. Also, Japan proper is mountainous with proportionately little tillable soil, so that the population is forced to concentrate near the coast line and develop seafaring habits. Yet Japan was not a great sea power before the end of the nineteenth century. The reasons are clear.

Because of its insular position and the general absence of strong naval states as neighbors, Japan escaped the aggression of foreign enemies down to the nineteenth century. As regards Japan's insularity, at the closest point of contact, across the narrow waters of Tsushima Strait, Japan is at least one hundred miles from the continent. This stretch of water was wide enough to make invasion difficult, at least until modern times. The result of this immunity to invasion was that the Japanese fought only a few naval battles prior to the Meiji era. These were fought in connection with internal consolidation during the early centuries, aggressive imperialism in Korea, civil war in the later Middle Ages (intermittently from the twelfth century to the end of the sixteenth), and the Mongol invasions.

<sup>1</sup> Hirata Shinsaku, *Kaigun Tokuhon* [General History of the Navy] (30th ed., Tokyo, 1933), p. 1. Surnames of authors of Japanese books are given first, that is, in Japanese style. One should say at the outset that materials on Japanese naval history in the pre-Meiji period are very scarce. Not until Hideyoshi's Korean campaigns in the sixteenth century do they begin to become satisfactory.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Another factor which retarded Japan's naval development, in the early period when merchant ships and vessels of war were, so far as we know, practically the same, was that Japan's self-sufficient economic position did not force her to take to the sea, across which her isolationist and proud neighbors, Korea and China, did not encourage intercourse.

Still another factor was the navigational dangers due to the difficult coasts, the stormy seas surrounding these coasts, and summer typhoons, which in the days of primitive navigation were serious obstacles to the expansion of an ocean-going merchant marine. The same geographical factors did much to reduce the danger of invasion.<sup>3</sup>

However, the rough terrain of the main islands and the absence of good roads made ships and sea communications for internal trade and administrative purposes very important. Various emperors encouraged shipbuilding for these purposes. In the first instance of which we have record, the Emperor Sujin in the middle of the third century A.D. ordered the provinces to build ships, for "ships are of cardinal importance to the Empire. At present the people of the coast, not having ships, suffer grievously by land transport."<sup>4</sup> For internal reasons, therefore, from an early period many coastwise ships plied Japanese waters.

## II

The first mention of ships in Japanese history is found in the legend of the arrival in Japan of Susanoō, deity of waters, rains, and thunder, and the brother of the Sun Goddess. Banished from heaven by his fellow deities, he descended to what would be Korea today, then "took clay and made of it a boat," in which he crossed over to Japan. He is said to have brought with him from heaven quantities of tree seeds, among them cryptomeria and camphor tree seeds, which "were to be made into floating riches," namely, ships.<sup>5</sup>

Probably a century or so before the Christian era the ancestors of the present-day Japanese arrived in the archipelago by sea. In the operations to

<sup>3</sup> A mid-third century Korean ruler declared, apropos of his lack of communications with Japan, "There is nothing but far seas and towering billows, so that in a large ship one can hardly communicate." William G. Aston, tr., *Nihongi* (London, 1896), I, 246. And see Takekoshi Yosoburo, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan* (London, 1930), III, 102. The *Nihongi* [Chronicles of Japan], a curious compound of fact and fancy, is the second oldest history written in Japan which has come down to us (720 A.D.). The oldest, the *Kojiki* [Records of Ancient Matters], is even more packed with legends (Basil Hall Chamberlain, tr., *Ko-ji-ki*, Asiatic Society of Japan, *Transactions*, X [1882]). It was written in 712 and carries the story to 628, the *Nihongi* to 700.

<sup>4</sup> *Nihongi*, I, 161. The date given for the decree, 81 B.C., is incorrect, modern research is convinced. On imperial efforts to stimulate shipbuilding, see further, Robert K. Reischauer, *Early Japanese History* (Princeton, 1937), I, 227, 246, 251.

<sup>5</sup> *Nihongi*, I, 57-58.

force an occupation in the face of the resistance of the aborigines the invaders used their war vessels—transports, properly speaking—to move their armies to points on the coast behind the enemy's position. It was through such tactics that the semilegendary first emperor, Jimmu Tennō, is supposed to have subdued the natives of eastern Honshu, after a campaign of several years, and set up his kingdom in 660 B.C., traditionally (more probably in the first century B.C.).<sup>6</sup>

According to Japanese historians, Jimmu personally commanded the army and the fleet, and from this fact, rather than from articles 11 and 12 of the 1889 constitution, the Japanese emperors to this day derive their power of supreme command over the empire's armed forces. "The Supreme Command of the armed forces of the country was already an established fact before the federation of our nation, and the Constitution does no more than record this authoritative and historic truism."<sup>7</sup>

Although the Japanese records are silent on this point, it appears from Chinese and Korean sources that there were frequent Japanese invasions of Korea in the first five centuries of the Christian era. During the chronic disturbances among the savage tribes which had been conquered by the Japanese, war vessels were used with telling effect. Thus, it is recorded that in 658–659 Abe-no-Hirafu, the governor of Echigo Province, at the head of a fleet of 180 ships subjugated the rebellious aborigines (the Ezo) of northwestern Honshu.<sup>8</sup>

In the course of a serious revolt of the Kumaso tribe in southern Kyushu, traditionally about 200 A.D., more probably about 362, the Emperor Chūai was killed in battle. His wife, the Empress Jingō, having learned that the rebels had been aided by the Korean kingdom of Shiragi (Silla),<sup>9</sup> decided to invade that country. She ordered the provinces to assemble war vessels and prepare for invasion. The empress herself, dressed as a man, commanded the expedition. The armada set out from a point in northwest Kyushu (in either Nagasaki or Saga Prefecture of today), passed to the east of Iki Island, stopped at Wani Harbor in Tsushima Island, crossed the Korea Strait, and reached Geijitsu (Yōngil) Bay, near modern Kyōngju (Keishū), on the southeast coast of Korea. As one of the earliest instances of their use of sea power this campaign has stirred the Japanese imagination. Unfortunately

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 111–31, especially p. 126.

<sup>7</sup> Inobushi Kiyoshi, *The Imperial Navy* (Tokyo, 1939): translation of Book II, chap. 1, *Amerasia*, VI (Oct., 1942), 371–73.

<sup>8</sup> Reischauer, I, 149–50.

<sup>9</sup> In general Japanese names for Korean places are used. When this is done, Korean names are given in parentheses following the first use of such names in text or notes. This procedure is reversed when Korean names are given preference.

for the historian, its maritime details are in the nature of a fairy tale. The *Kojiki* describes the crossing in this fashion:

She mustered and equipped an army, gathered her war vessels, and crossed the sea to the land of her destination. During the cruise, all kinds of fish both large and small came up from the bottom of the sea. They all aided the Empress by bearing her war vessels on their backs. With the rise of favorable winds, the war vessels crossed the billows. The waves bore the vessels to Korea.<sup>10</sup>

The *Nihongi* version is similar:

Sail was set from the harbor of Wani. Then the Wind-God made a breeze to spring up, and the Sea-God uplifted the billows. The great fishes of the ocean, every one came to the surface and encompassed the ships. Presently a great wind blew from a favorable quarter on the ships under sail, and following the waves, without the labor of the oar or helm, they arrived at Silla [Shiragi]. The tide-wave following the ships reached far up into the interior of the country.<sup>11</sup>

The *Nihongi* then states that the Shiragi king surrendered without a fight and promised to send tribute to Japan "as long as Heaven and Earth endure."<sup>12</sup> Most Japanese historians have accepted the traditional version—of the divine assistance through the favorable wind and the tidal wave, without, however, mentioning the invaluable aid given by the fish.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, despite the sanctity of the ancient writings, modern Japanese military and naval historians do not allude to the legendary details of the crossing.<sup>14</sup>

Jingō's Korean conquest was long regarded as one of the most glorious achievements in Japanese history. Jingō and her posthumous son (born after Chūai's death), Emperor Ōjin, were reverently worshipped down until very recent times as the first conquerors of a foreign country.<sup>15</sup> Even if Jingō's conquest were a fiction, as some evidence would indicate, it is probable that many invasions of Korea took place, both before and after Jingō, and that in the latter fourth or the early fifth century Japan finally established her

<sup>10</sup> As translated by Yoshi S. Kuno, *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent* (2 vols., Berkeley, 1937, 1940), I, 197.

<sup>11</sup> *Nihongi*, I, 230.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 230–31. This source states that the other Korean kingdoms of Kōrai (Koryō) and Kudara (Paekche) also submitted at this time (pp. 231–32). The *Kojiki* mentions only Kudara of the two, and Japanese historians often speak of Shiragi alone in connection with Jingō's conquest.

<sup>13</sup> For example, Yūzan-kaku (publishing house), ed., *Dai Nipponshi Kōza* [Lectures on Japanese History] (18 vols., Tokyo, 1928–30), I, 71; Ōmori Kingorō, *Dai Nippon Zenshi* [A Comprehensive History of Japan] (Tokyo, 1921), I, 158–60. The *Nihongi*, Ōmori admits, "is rather exaggerated writing, but it was probably written this way because the divine will and the sentiments of the people were realized."

<sup>14</sup> For example, Hirata in *Kaigun Tokuhon*, and Viscount Commander (later Admiral) Ogasawara Chōsei in his semiofficial *Nippon Teikoku Kaijōkenryōkushi* [Lectures on the History of Japanese Sea Power] (Tokyo, 1903); also Takayanagi Kōju, ed., *Dai Nippon Senshi* [A Military History of Japan] (Tokyo, 1937), I, 46.

<sup>15</sup> Kuno, I, 3.

power over the various Korean kingdoms.<sup>16</sup> This epoch-making event marked the beginning of Japan's intercourse with the Asiatic continent, which proceeded along military, trading, colonization, and cultural lines.

For centuries, say Japanese historians, especially from the time of Jingō until 663, the Japanese had command of the sea in the Far East. Since every merchant ship became a warship when the occasion required, the navy must have been a formidable one in point of numbers. The ships themselves could not have been very awesome. They appear to have been little more than shallow rowboats. The nature of Jimmu Tennō's ships is not known, but it is likely that they were propelled by oars, not sails, and that the method of construction was to hollow out tree trunks. But from about the time of Jingō the ships also had sails, although it is very likely that boats propelled solely by oars predominated.<sup>17</sup> Throughout the ancient and medieval periods, in fact down to the later nineteenth century, Japan was far behind China in shipbuilding, and at least until the seventeenth century behind Korea as well. Clear proof of this fact was furnished as early as the seventh century.

In the sixth century military disasters in Korea seriously weakened the Japanese position in that country. The *coup-de-grâce* was administered in the middle of the seventh century when Shiragi, the most powerful of the Korean states, allied herself with the T'ang emperor of China. In 660 the coalition crushed Kudara and advanced on Kōrai. Japan formed an alliance with the Kudara survivors and set out to re-establish herself on the peninsula. The decisive event was the great naval battle off the entrance to the Hakuson-kō (Paekch'on-gang; Hakuson River) in southwestern Korea.<sup>18</sup>

Few details have been handed down by history. Toward the end of September, 663, the main armies of T'ang and Shiragi opened an attack on Chuyu-s'ōng, the principal Japanese-Kudara base in Korea. Its exact location is not known, but it is supposed to have been near modern Kansan (Hansan), a small town about ten or twelve miles from the mouth of the Hakuson-kō.<sup>19</sup> Early in October, the T'ang fleet of 170 ships, which was in the vicinity of Kumatsu (above Chuyu-s'ōng), descended the Kin-kō to the mouth of the Hakuson-kō. The strategy of the T'ang admiral, Liu Jen-kuai, was to co-operate in the attack on Chuyu-s'ōng by intercepting the strong relief force which was en route from Japan. He had arranged his ships in battle formation near the mouth of the river when the vanguard of the Japanese fleet

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 3-5; Reischauer, I, 17.

<sup>17</sup> Neil G. Munro, *Prehistoric Japan* (Yokohama, 1911), pp. 138-39; F. P. Purvis, "Ship Construction in Japan, Ancient and Modern," Asiatic Soc. of Japan, *Transactions*, XLVII (1919), 3.

<sup>18</sup> The Hakuson-kō is actually the lower course of the Kin-kō (Kūm-gang; Kūm River).

<sup>19</sup> *Tōyō Rekishi Daijiten* [Historical Dictionary of the Far East], III, 246.



came in sight. Preliminary fighting, on October 4, was inconclusive. On the following day, the main fleets came to grips in a short but decisive battle. The Japanese admiral, Azumi-no-Hirafu, drove straight ahead but soon found his fleet encircled by the T'ang ships and subjected to a violent "fire attack." The majority of the Japanese ships, some four hundred, were set on fire and a large number of men drowned. In the words of the Chinese records, "Smoke and flame heated the sky, the water of the sea was completely reddened."<sup>20</sup>

In this, the first major trial of strength in history between China and Japan, the Japanese fleet had suffered a crushing defeat. The outcome was certain from the beginning. The T'ang forces, in their many Korean wars, had become experienced in sea fighting, and their war vessels were of a large type and strongly built, "suitable even for crossing the Yellow Sea." Moreover, the Chinese held the advantage of position in the battle, having completed their pre-battle arrangements before the arrival of the Japanese fleet. On the other hand, the Japanese lacked the naval experience of the Chinese, and their ships, although more numerous, were very probably small. Some comfort is derived from the excellent spirit displayed by the imperial force in "crossing the raging billows of the ocean and dashing forward fearlessly under the emperor's orders, without being concerned about the quality of their ships."<sup>21</sup>

The consequences of the naval battle of Hakuson-kō were immediate and far-reaching. "This one battle really decided the fate of the empire for a thousand years," writes Hirata, "and the dark ages of our medieval period came into being as a result of this defeat." In the first place, the Sino-Japanese war was decided. Chuyu-s'ōng fell on October 13, and a week or two later the Japanese, "swallowing their tears," began to evacuate the peninsula. Korea was united into a single kingdom under T'ang suzerainty and Japan gave up all attempts to exercise any influence over Korea until the time of Hideyoshi over nine centuries later. Foreign expansion was replaced for centuries by a policy of immersion in domestic affairs. All this the Japanese bewail as a direct result of the "tragedy of the downfall of our command of the sea" in the third year of Tenchi (663).

One very beneficial by-product did result from the defeat off the Hakuson-kō. It is held by modern historians that Japan was not interested in Korea for itself but only as a gateway for contact with China and Chinese

<sup>20</sup> Hirata, p. 9. The only primary Japanese source for the battle is the *Nihongi*, II, 278. Chinese and Korean sources supply a few extra details. All the important details extant are in Takayanagi, I, 67-68.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 67, 68.



civilization. Direct communication with China was very hazardous for centuries because of the absence of ships capable of making the long ocean voyage. Therefore, so goes the theory, once China controlled Korea, direct communications were established between China and Japan across the Korea Strait, and there was little to be gained for Japan by further fighting.<sup>22</sup>

### III

Of a navy proper during the Middle Ages not very much is known. Apparently both the central government and the feudal lords (the *daimyo*) possessed warships, which were worked partly with sails and partly with oars, like the galleys of Europe. When the government felt the need for raising a large fleet, the provinces were ordered to build war vessels as, for instance, in 759 when they were commanded to build five hundred warships for a campaign against Shiragi which never materialized.<sup>23</sup>

The navy, such as it was, became a purely defensive force, policing coastal waters, not always successfully, against Japanese and foreign pirates who often pillaged the Kyushu coast and the Inland Sea. One such pirate raid is of more than passing interest. In 1019, a Manchurian tribe known as the "Toi" attacked Tsushima, then landed in Hizen Province, northwest Kyushu. A successful Japanese naval attack on the pirate fleet caused them to withdraw. The details of this engagement are not known. This brush discouraged further aggression from the continent for another two hundred and fifty years.<sup>24</sup>

Living as a semi-hermit nation, the Japanese gradually became absorbed in civil war. Japanese ships played an important part in the domestic feuds of the later Middle Ages. The bitter rivalry between the Minamoto and Taira clans—the colorful Gempei Wars—was featured by a number of naval clashes. They culminated in the decisive battle of Dan-no-ura in 1185, the largest naval battle fought in the Far East up to that time and the first one in Japanese history about which we have many details.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ōmori, *Dai Nippon Zenshi*, I, 368; Reischauer, I, 16, 151.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 194.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 327; Vice-Admiral George A. Ballard, *The Influence of the Sea on the Political History of Japan* (London, 1921), pp. 16–19.

<sup>25</sup> The principal Japanese sources are, first, the *Heike Monogatari* [Tales of the Taira Clan], a narrative of the rise and fall of the Taira, probably written in the early thirteenth century. There is a good English translation by Arthur L. Sadler in the Asiatic Soc. of Japan, *Transactions*, XLVI, pt. 2 (1918), and XLIX, pt. 1 (1921). Pp. 242–56 of the latter contain the account of Dan-no-ura. The other main sources are the *Azumi Kagami* [The Mirror of Eastern Japan], a work of the fourteenth century, the *Gempei Seisuiiki* [Records of the Rise and Fall of the Minamoto and Taira Families], and the *Gyokkai* [Jeweled Sea] by Fujiwara Kanezane, on the events between 1164 and 1202.

Japanese works which I have consulted include Nippon Rekishi Chiri Gakkai [Japanese Historical Geographical Society], ed., *Nippon Kaijō Shiron* [A Treatise on Japanese Maritime His-

The situation on the eve of the battle was, briefly, as follows: The Taira had been driven out of Shikoku and most of Kyushu. They had been beaten on land and, in the words of a classic Japanese historian, "had been pursued as the hawk urges the pheasants when the moors are burnt and no cover is left." The Taira were making their last stand. They held one trump, control of Shimonoseki Strait, the western entrance to the Inland Sea. The Minamoto needed to win command of the Inland Sea as a preliminary to the complete conquest of Kyushu and Honshu. This, the dashing, cunning Minamoto commander-in-chief, Yoshitsune, decided to accomplish. He had one advantage to begin with, numerical superiority in ships, about 840 to approximately 500 of the Taira.

On April 24, 1185, the Taira fleet, commanded by Taira Tomomori, left its main naval base at Hikoshima Island, which commands the western approaches to Shimonoseki Strait, and reached Ta-no-ura, Kyushu, a few miles east of the modern city of Moji. Simultaneously, the Minamoto fleet gradually advanced to Okutsu Island (probably Manshūjima Island of today). The two fleets were then about two miles apart. On the twenty-fifth, the day of the battle, the ships, gaily decorated with flags and streamers, approached each other, reducing the gap to less than four hundred yards. The place was Dan-no-ura, the stretch of Honshu shore to the east of modern Shimonoseki and south of modern Chōfu, where Shimonoseki Strait begins to widen out into the Inland Sea. The Minamoto fleet was upstream, the Taira fleet was downstream.

We have some conception of the appearance of these war vessels through the painting of the battle by Tosa Mitsunobu, which is in the Akama-no-miya Temple Collection in Shimonoseki. Although painted in the fourteenth century, it apparently utilized the primary source materials of the battle, along with, perhaps, a dash of the artist's imagination. Except for one Taira ship—a large, T'ang-style vessel with battened sails and a double hull, which was used as a decoy—the ships were small, clumsy, oar-propelled junks. They are referred to as war vessels, but they do not seem to have differed particularly in construction from ordinary ships and were probably mainly

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tory] (Tokyo, 1910), pp. 131-37; Ogasawara, pp. 45-46; *Dai Nipponshi Kōza*, III, 47-48; Ōmori, *Dai Nippon Zenshi*, II, 65-68; Takayanagi, I, 227-32; Kuroita Katsumi, "Dan-no-ura Kaisen" [The Battle of Dan-no-ura], *Rekishi to Chiri* [History and Geography], IV (July, 1919), 1-9. These accounts, all based on the sources, differ only in details, the most important being in regard to the time the battle was fought. The best account in English is James Murdoch, *A History of Japan* (London, 1925), I, 362-65. It is regrettable that the editors of the official *Dai Nippon Shiryō* [Materials for a Comprehensive History of Japan] (Tokyo, 1901-) had not by 1941 published the volumes which include Dan-no-ura, the Mongol invasions, and Hideyoshi's Korean campaigns. This monumental work covering Japanese history from 887 to 1867 will run to 300 volumes when completed.

fishing or ferry boats commandeered for the purpose. This is not strange, for the major function of the war vessels of those days was to bring two armies within bow-range or sword-reach. Ships, then, were merely platforms for bringing two forces to grips. The ships themselves had no defensive or offensive powers of their own. Moreover, there is evidence that the art of shipbuilding had declined. When the Emperor Junnin had prepared to invade Shiragi in the mid-eighth century, 390 ships had sufficed for about 60,000 soldiers; that is, there had been about 150 men per ship. At Dan-no-ura, however, the number of men was 100,000 at most (probably less), *i.e.*, about 75 men per ship and may have been only 30 to 40 per ship.<sup>26</sup>

Neither fleet could boast of any definite organization. The officers and men were for the most part untrained in naval warfare, although the Taira had much more experience in sea fighting. For generations they had been entrusted with the task of clearing the pirates from the Inland Sea. Until Dan-no-ura their naval supremacy was secure. As for the Minamoto fleet, it was numerically superior because many chiefs from Shikoku and the provinces of Suō and Nagato in southwestern Honshu had gone over to Yoshitsune, bringing their ships and seasoned crews. But the Minamoto forces, including the crack Kantō (northeastern Honshu) troops, were far less experienced in sea fighting than the Taira. The Minamoto had done most of their fighting on land, on which element, as horsemen and bowmen, they were far superior to the Taira. Offsetting their advantage in sea experience, the Taira had many ships which were encumbered with women and families, including the empress dowager, the dethroned six-year-old emperor, Antoku, and his grandmother. The Minamoto fleet was not burdened with such excess baggage.

The Minamoto ships went into battle with "bows and sterns abreast," the Taira fleet in three squadrons. The battle began between six and eight in the morning with a long-range archery duel at about 350 yards. "Arrows fell like rain." The Taira took the initiative in the middle stages of the battle because tide conditions were in their favor. It appears that Tomomori had some knowledge of the tricky tide conditions which prevailed. About 8:30 A.M. there was an ebb tide flowing in the direction of the Inland Sea. At this time the current was very slow. Partly for this reason the Taira had the edge at this point of the battle.<sup>27</sup> Tomomori wanted to decide the issue

<sup>26</sup> Ogasawara, pp. 45-46.

<sup>27</sup> A good account of the tide conditions in Shimonoseki Strait is to be found in Ōmori Kingoro, *Nippon Chūseishi Ronkō* [A Treatise on the Medieval History of Japan] (Tokyo, 1928), pp. 132-34. Tide and current conditions during the battle are the main points around which all Japanese discussions of the battle revolve. The *Heike Monogatari* is the main source for the statement that the battle began early in the morning and ended about noon; and with a knowledge

before the tide changed. Accordingly, his three squadrons attempted to surround the Minamoto fleet, kill Yoshitsune, and so decide the battle quickly. Yoshitsune had all he could do to cope with the fierce attack of the Taira. Both sides

fought grimly without a thought for their lives, neither giving way an inch. But as the Heike [Taira] had on their side an Emperor endowed with the Ten Virtues and the Three Sacred Treasures of the Realm, things went hard with the Genji [Minamoto].<sup>28</sup>

Gradually, toward 11 o'clock, the boats came into direct contact and the battle reached its peak. "The roar of their war cries was such as to be heard even to the highest heavens of Brahma." Two decisive events now took place. The ebb tide became low tide about 11:10, at which time the current was at its swiftest (eight knots), and now flowed westward. It is assumed by Japanese historians that Yoshitsune, capitalizing on the expert knowledge of the strait possessed by one of his lieutenants, Miura Yoshizumi, took advantage of the altered conditions. It is possible that, sometime prior to the battle, Yoshitsune himself investigated tide conditions in the strait. The current in the strait is reputed to be so strong at that time of day that even a warship of our times, if carelessly handled, would be pushed around by it. With the shift in the current, the Minamoto ships were able to press down on the Taira, while the latter were carried downstream against their will.

The second decisive factor was the desertion of Awa-no-Mimbu Shige-yoshi, a Kyushu chief. He hauled down the red flag of the Taira and joined the Minamoto fleet with his squadron, attacking the Taira from the rear and betraying the Taira stratagem of putting their best warriors on the smaller boats and the inferior men on the larger ships, and of using the big T'ang ship to deceive the enemy into thinking that the emperor and the generals were on it. Thereafter the Minamoto concentrated on the smaller vessels.

Toward noon the Minamoto troops fought their way into the Taira ships and used their arrows and swords so effectively, especially against the rowers and the helmsmen, that the movement of the Taira ships came to a stop and the fleet was thrown into great confusion. The battle was decided by noon, when Yoshitsune was able to send a message to the Hō-ō (the cloistered emperor) that the Taira had been "completely annihilated." Most of the Taira clan were drowned. Nii-no-ama, the emperor's grandmother (the Lady

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of the tide and current in Shimonoseki Strait (which are assumed to have been about the same then as today), together with a reference to the influence of the tide on the battle, in the *Heike Monogatari* (p. 244), Japanese historians have tried to reconstruct the salient features of the engagement.

<sup>28</sup> *Heike Monogatari*, p. 248.

Azechi according to another version), with Antoku in her arms, jumped into the sea and drowned. The empress dowager, Kenrei-mon-in, tried to do the same but was raked in by her hair by the Minamoto. "And now," concludes the account of the battle in the *Heike Monogatari*, "the whole sea was red with the banners and insignia [of the Taira] . . . while the white breakers that rolled up on the beach were dyed a scarlet color. The deserted empty ships rocked mournfully on the waves, driven aimlessly hither and thither by the wind and the tide." Some of the effects of the battle are described in the quaint prose of an early Western historian of Japan:

Among a superstitious people dwelling by and on the sea, such an awful ingulphing of human life made a profound impression. . . . For years, nay, for centuries afterward, the ghosts of the Taira found nought but unrest in the sea in which their mortal bodies sunk. The sailor by day hurried with bated breath past the scene of slaughter and unsubstantial life. The mariner by night, unable to anchor, and driven by wind, spent the hours of darkness in prayer, while his vivid imagination converted the dancing phosphorescence into the white hosts of the Taira dead. Even today the Chōsiu peasant fancies that he sees the ghostly armies bailing out the sea with bottomless dippers, condemned thus to cleanse the ocean of the stain of centuries ago.<sup>29</sup>

#### IV

Yoritomo, head of the Minamoto clan, set up a feudal government at Kamakura in 1192, with himself as shogun. Although a ship-administrator (*funa-bugyō*) was appointed to supervise the shogunal fleet, and the more powerful feudal lords along the coast established naval bases in their own domains and trained seamen, Japanese sea power was in a state of decay at the time of the Mongol invasions—the Bunei and Kōan campaigns of 1274 and 1281, respectively.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> William E. Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire* (New York, 1890), p. 138.

<sup>30</sup> Japanese primary source literature on the invasions is very scanty. The principal sources are the *Hachiman Gudōki* (often referred to as the *Hachiman Gudōkun*) [Personal Notes regarding the Hachiman Temple], a chronicle of the Mongol invasions written in the Kamakura period in the Hachiman Temple; Takezaki Suenaga's famous Mongol Scroll, and *Nichiren Shonen Chūgasen* [Illustrated Biographical Sketch of Nichiren], which is Vol. 220 of the *Zokugun-shoruijū* [A Collection of Representative Texts of Old Japan], compiled in the nineteenth century. The most important Chinese source is the *Genshi* (Chinese: *Yüan-shih*) [History of the Mongol Dynasty], one of the 25 dynastic histories of China. The most important section on the invasions is the *Nipponden*, or section on Japan. Often quoted, too, is the *Tōgoku Tsūgan* [A General History of the East], a Korean work of the sixteenth century.

Japanese writings consulted on the invasions include Ōmori, *Dai Nippon Zenshi*, II, 302-16; *Dai Nipponshi Kōza*, III, 242-48, 252-56; Ogasawara, pp. 48-54; Ōmori, *Nippon Chūseishi Ronkō*, pp. 193-214; Takayanagi, I, 258-66, 280-95; *Nippon Kaijō Shiron*, pp. 149-65; Izu Sachio and Matsushita Yoshio, *Nippon Gunji Hattatsushi* [The History of Japanese Military Development] (Tokyo, 1938), pp. 58-59; Naganuma Kenkai, *Shinsetsu Nipponshi* [New Views on Japanese History] (Tokyo, 1930), II, 125-26; Yūzan-kaku (publishing house), ed., *Isetsu Nipponshi* [A New Interpretation of Japanese History] (Tokyo, 1932), I, 300-45, *passim*; Ikeuchi Hiroshi, *Genkō no Shinkenkyū* [A New Study on the Mongol Invasions] (Tokyo, 1931), I, 117-52, 307-16 (Vol. II consists of reproductions of the Mongol Scroll). The best account in English is Murdoch, I, 507-25.

In 1274 the Mongol emperor, Kublai Khan, set out to conquer Japan with a force of about 30,000 Mongols, Chinese, and Koreans, including 6,700 Korean and Mongol rowers and helmsmen. His fleet consisted of 900 ships of which 300 were large 100-ton warships (transports), 300 were landing craft, and 300 were water supply boats. The armada left Aiura (Happ'o), Korea (modern Masampo [Masan]), on November 2. The Japanese fleet was so much weaker than the vast Mongol fleet that it made no attempt to intercept the expeditionary force at sea. The Mongols had uncontested command of the sea in the Korea and Tsushima straits, that is, the waters between southern Korea and Japan. One immediate result was that the Japanese island outposts of Tsushima and Iki were quickly overrun and the small garrisons exterminated. The armada then swept on Hakata Bay (modern Fukuoka Bay) in Chikuzen Province, northwestern Kyushu. On November 18 a landing was effected at Momomichibara at the western edge of Hakata Bay. The topography of the shore at this point was suitable for carrying out simultaneous debarkation from the transports drawn up in a row, but as the landing operations were extremely primitive and were harassed by furious attacks of the Japanese defenders, it was not possible to land at will. Nevertheless, landings of troops (as many as 6,000 to 7,000) and horses were effected. On the nineteenth other landings were carried out on the coast west of Hakata. Desperate fighting raged in the Hakata, Hakozaki, and Akasaka areas as the invaders tried to push on to Dazaifu, the military headquarters of Kyushu, situated in the interior of Chikuzen.

The number of the Japanese defenders is not clear (probably no more than 3,000 to 4,000 in all), but all accounts pay tribute to the courage and morale of the officers and men. However, the Mongol advantages of fighting in well-ordered formation (as contrasted with the individual style of fighting used by the Japanese) and possessing hand-operated mortars, which hurled a kind of incendiary bomb, proved too much for the Japanese. In the late afternoon the Japanese position became untenable and the tired defenders were forced to retreat behind the once formidable but now dilapidated fortifications which the Emperor Tenchi had built after Hakuson-kō. Behind this defense line of embankments with moats, the Japanese waited for reinforcements from Shikoku and western Honshu, while worrying about the next day's operations. "We lamented all through the night," records the *Hachiman Gūdoki*, "thinking that we were doomed and would be destroyed to the last man and that no 'seeds' would be left to fill the nine provinces." But unknown to the Japanese, the Mongols had withdrawn that evening to their ships. The reasons appear to have been these: the unexpected stub-



bornness of the Japanese, exhaustion of arrows (the Mongols were prepared only for the swiftest kind of blitzkrieg), anticipation of a storm by the pilots, and perhaps also fear by the Mongols of a Japanese night attack, when their primitive tactics might have been deadly. In retreating, the Mongols set fire to several of the villages on the coast of the bay, maltreating the children and old people who had not been able to flee.

That night, November 19-20, a violent gale suddenly blew up. "The violent waves of Hakata Bay reached almost to heaven." Over half of the Mongol fleet sank as ship after ship crashed into the rocky shores of the bay. Nearly half of the Mongol force, over 13,000 men, was lost. The panicky remnants returned to Korea. From the scant evidence the gale was not anything like the hurricane of the second invasion in 1281. But thanks to this "divine blessing," the first invasion had been frustrated before it had developed into a great crisis. Japanese historians, however, stress the fact that the enemy had decided to beat a retreat to their ships before the gale sprang up, and that, even had there been no gale, the Mongols would have withdrawn from Japanese waters because of the "state of their arrow supply and other inadequacies in their preparations."<sup>81</sup>

Since the Mongols might return sometime, the Japanese took precautions. In particular, a stone wall was constructed on the Kyushu coast in the Hakata Bay area. It may have been as long as twenty-five miles, was thirteen to sixteen or more feet high, and was constructed so that horses could be ridden up the sloping wall, while the side which fronted the bay dropped sharply like a precipice.

Kublai Khan tried again in 1281 after completing his conquest of China. This time he used his entire military resources. The second armada consisted of two sections. The "Eastern Route" force, composed of 900 ships and 42,000 men (15,000 Chinese and Mongol soldiers, 10,000 Korean soldiers, and 17,000 Korean rowers and helmsmen), concentrated at Aiura, Korea. The "South of the Yangtze" force, composed of a Chinese army of 100,000 men, 60,000 or more rowers and helmsmen, and 3,500 ships, assembled in what is now Kiangsu Province. It was arranged that the two forces should meet by July 2 at Iki, then attack Kyushu and advance on Dazaifu.

On May 22, 1281, the Eastern Route army left Aiura, invaded Tsushima (June 9), proceeded (June 14) to Iki and occupied that island, too. In both

<sup>81</sup> There is no evidence that the Japanese fleet played any role in the campaign. I can find no references to the Japanese naval attack on the Mongol ships on the night of the nineteenth, which is described in Nakaba Yamada, *Ghenkō: The Mongol Invasion of Japan* (New York, 1916), pp. 143-46.

places the defenders were, as in the first campaign, vastly outnumbered. Instead of waiting at Iki for the Yangtze army, the Eastern Route army tried to steal a march on it by advancing ahead of schedule. On June 21, Japanese lookouts on the northern Kyushu shore made out the "tasseled prows and fluted sails" of the invaders' fleet. It was a detachment of about three hundred ships, which passed off Munkata on the northern coast of Chikuzen and arrived at Nagato Bay, from which position it commanded Shimonoseki Strait. The object of this move was to divert relief troops from Honshu from the main battle which was about to develop in the Hakata region.

The main Eastern Route force advanced on Shigashima (Shiga Spit), a land extension of the entrance to Hakata Bay. The fleet anchored off the spit and determined efforts were made to land troops. During several days of continuous fighting the Mongols were able to land only one unit in the face of savage Japanese resistance. Not content with passive defense, the small but swift and highly maneuverable Japanese boats (ten to twelve men per boat) put out from the vicinity of Hakata and harassed the much larger and more numerous enemy ships with night hit-and-run attacks. Fanatical Japanese would close with an enemy ship, knock down their own mast, use it as a bridge to board the enemy ship, engage in hand-to-hand fighting and sword play, set the ship on fire, and return. On one occasion thirty Japanese swam out to the Mongol fleet, boarded a warship, and lopped off the heads of the crew. The most daring exploit was carried out in broad daylight when Kusano Jirō and a picked crew rowed out to an enemy ship and, despite a hail of darts, one of which slashed off one of Kusano's arms, managed to board, set the ship on fire, and carry off twenty-one heads. Another Japanese hero, Kōno Michiari, put out with two boatloads of men, all apparently unarmed. The Mongols looked on, supposing that the Japanese were coming to surrender. Coming close, the Japanese boarded one of the ships, exercised their two-handed swords, captured the commanding officer, burned the ship, and returned safely. Matters reached the point where the Mongols were compelled to spread out nets, and to tie portions of their fleet together by ropes so as to ensure that the ships would be within easy supporting distance of each other. The courageous "naval" exploits of men like the two Kōno (Michiari and Michitoki, respectively nephew and uncle), the Ōgano brothers (Taneyasu and Tanemura), and Kusano Jirō are part of Japan's national heritage.

There is nothing to explain why the Japanese boats used in the campaign were so much less formidable than those of a century earlier at Dan-no-ura. As regards weapons, the raiders used the bow and arrow, sword, and *kumade*



or rake, generally of bamboo, which was used for boarding an enemy ship. They also had shields for protection against arrows.

Frustrated at Shigashima, the Mongols retreated to Takashima Island (June 30), at the entrance to Imari Gulf, Hizen Province (south of Chikuzen). The dates and details from this point on become hazy. Landings appear to have been attempted on the northern coast of Hizen with the purpose of outflanking the Japanese defenses in Hakata Bay. They were not successful. Difficulties multiplied for the Mongols. Forced to remain on board their cramped ships, with scarcely enough breathing space in the scorching heat, three thousand men were carried off by an epidemic. The ships themselves began to rot. Moreover, the Yangtze army had not appeared. Under these conditions it was decided to wait for the Yangtze army and then try to settle the campaign with one decisive blow, meanwhile being as cautious as possible in order to husband strength. In this, the Takashima stage of the campaign, the Japanese "caused the enemy's liver to become cold" (that is, frightened the Mongols) by repeating the hit-and-run attacks at sea. However, because their losses were heavy, the Japanese, too, became cautious. A stalemate resulted on land and sea.

The center of action shifted to Iki in mid-July. The main Yangtze army had finally left Ningpo in south China, on July 5, and reached Hirado Island, Hizen, below the entrance to Imari Gulf, at the end of July or the early part of August. Meanwhile, on July 16, an advance squadron of three hundred ships had joined the Eastern Route army at Iki. As soon as the Japanese learned that the Mongols had concentrated at Iki, they once more made daring attacks on the Mongol ships in the waters adjacent to Iki. On August 12, the combined Eastern Route and Yangtze forces concentrated at Takashima, preparatory to making a supreme effort to crush Japanese resistance and march on Dazaifu.

As the climax of the campaign approached, the Japanese seem to have realized that individual valor would not be enough to stave off defeat. "It is abundantly plain," says Murdoch, "that the whole nation, from the ex-Emperors downwards, passed most of their time during the great crisis on its knees before the gods imploring them for the overthrow of the invader." The ex-Emperor Kameyama sent a proxy to the Ise Shrine to petition the imperial ancestor, the Sun Goddess, for divine help. Japanese records relate that as the sacred envoy arrived at the shrine and offered the imperial prayer, a cloud appeared in the clear sky. It spread quickly and developed into a hurricane of terrific force on the night of August 15-16. The Mongol ships were helpless in the face of it. Most of them sank through collisions or being

driven on the rocks, or were simply blown over. "The sea looked as if divining rods had been scattered." Those who drowned were "numberless," according to the Japanese sources. When the Japanese saw what had happened, they immediately followed up their advantage by sending an amphibious expedition of hundreds of war vessels under Shōni Kagesuke to wipe out the scattered enemy troops on Takashima. About three thousand prisoners were taken. Exaggerated Chinese records (*Yüan-shih*) tell us that only three of Kublai Khan's fighting men were able to reach China. In actual fact, somewhere between thirty and thirty-five thousand of the original force returned alive, along with about two hundred of the ships. It was unquestionably one of the worst defeats in military history.

So ended the only serious invasion attempts ever made on the main islands of Japan. The outcome was the undisputed command of the sea between Japan and the continent for three centuries. The Japanese later built a 71-foot high monument on the shore of Chikuzen Province to commemorate the Mongol defeat of 1281. Under the bronze statue of the Emperor Kameyama is engraved the inscription "The enemy capitulated" (*Tekiōoku Kofuku*). This might suggest that the Japanese were under the illusion that they had defeated the Mongols by force of arms. Actually, it became a universally accepted fact in Japan that the hurricane had been sent by heaven, since it had coincided with the climax of the national prayers for the dispersal of the Mongols. For this reason the wind of August 15-16 is called the "Divine Wind of Ise" (*Ise no Kami-kaze*) in Japanese history. It was thereafter the traditional belief that Japan was a divinely protected nation and therefore could never be successfully invaded by any enemy. "So strongly are the people imbued with this faith," Professor Kuno has written, "that there is absolute national confidence in the ultimate success and justification of all her causes and claims in any dealings with foreign nations."<sup>32</sup> A contemporary Japanese historian observes: "From that time the word 'Kami-kaze' [Divine Wind] has come to symbolize the faith of the Japanese people in the belief that Providence is constantly with them in times of national adversity."<sup>33</sup> It was, therefore, not by accident that the Ise Shrine became the center of national worship and that Japan felt herself to be the *Shinkoku* or "Divine Nation." When nearly six hundred years later Perry came to pay his respects, in the words of a native annalist, "Orders were sent by the imperial court to the Shinto priests at Ise to offer up prayers for the sweeping away of the barbarians."<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Kuno, I, 51.

<sup>33</sup> Akiyama Kenzo, *The History of Nippon* (Tokyo, 1941), p. 161.

<sup>34</sup> Cited in Griffis, p. 179.

It would, however, be a serious mistake to think that all the Japanese of today have placed their sole reliance on divine protection. Japanese historians of this generation are critical of the prevalent national belief that it was the Divine Wind above all else which saved Japan in 1281.<sup>35</sup> While acknowledging the usefulness of the Wind, they have minimized its importance by intimating that it did no more than give the *coup-de-grâce* to the enemy, and by asserting that even without it the Japanese would still have stood a good chance of defeating the Mongols. These writers stress the heroism, the hard fighting, and the offensive spirit displayed by the officers and men from start to finish, and the fact that, although the battle was finally decided by the Divine Wind, for over two months the Kyushu troops alone had held the enemy at bay. Had not the Wind intervened to end the battle, so runs the argument, the defenders, reinforced by the first-class Kantō troops from northeastern Honshu, would have had nothing to fear. The point is also made that the Yangtze army consisted mainly of subjected Chinese from south China who were despised by the Mongols as *bantsu* (barbarians) and were poor fighting men of inferior physique.

Another point frequently mentioned is the intense public spirit and national unity which were manifested at the time. The Japanese point with pride to such incidents as the participation of Shōni Kagasuke's 84-year-old father and Kōno Michiari's 14-year-old heir-apparent in the sea fighting off Shigashima as illustrations of how the whole country rallied to the defense of the fatherland.

The most important lesson of the Mongol invasion campaign is, indeed, that the real foundation of victory in war is the strength of unity of the completely united nation, with the harmony of the people and undivided loyalty, and that we should count the divine aid and geographical advantages as of secondary importance as conditions of victory.<sup>36</sup>

Japanese historians have drawn another larger lesson from the Mongol campaigns—that the nation must not rely on divine winds in future wars with powerful enemies, and that national security could best be achieved by the possession of a strong navy. From this point of view Ogasawara harshly criticized Hōjō Tokimune. As *shikōken* (regent who made the shoguns puppets), he knew or should have known that the Mongols were preparing another invasion after the first campaign. Hence, he should have used the six-year interval to better advantage. If, instead of concentrating on coast defense, he had built many large war vessels and had trained seamen, and

<sup>35</sup> *Dai Nipponshi Kōza*, III, 255; Ōmori, *Dai Nippon Zenshi*, II, 316; *Nippon Kaijō Shiron*, p. 163; Ōmori, *Nippon Chūseishi Ronkō*, pp. 203–204; Takayanagi, I, 289, 296–97.

<sup>36</sup> Takayanagi, I, 297.

had defended the main islands by challenging the Mongol armadas at sea, there would have been no crisis in Japan. "There are three kinds of national defense—internal, coastal, and maritime—but maritime defense is the main thing, and coast and internal defense do no more than supplement it." Furthermore, Ogasawara claimed, the economic consequences of fighting an enemy on one's own soil—in terms of devastation, etc.—also dictate a policy of active naval defense. "You must choose the place of battle outside the Country."<sup>87</sup>

## V

The following three centuries were the most warlike in Japan's history. This was the "Dark Age," an era of intrigue, assassinations, rebellions, and wars. In these sanguinary events sea communications and warships played an important part. Thus, the Ashikaga shogunate was established in 1336 when Ashikaga Takauji used his sea power to effect a landing at Hyōgo (present-day Kobe). In the dynastic war of 1336–1392, "It was by sea that Chikafusa Kitabatake, the Royalist minister of the Southern court, checked the progress of the usurper by establishing communications between the naval forces of Kumano and Shikoku, on the one hand, and those of the military government of Kyushu on the other."

The warlike spirit stimulated by the Mongol campaigns and the incessant domestic turmoil made many Japanese bellicose and restless. Many feudal lords and their retainers along the western coast took up piracy as a livelihood from the middle of the fourteenth century on.<sup>88</sup> They were "land pirates," plundering not ships but the coast of China and Korea (sometimes going far into the interior) and roaming as far south as the coasts of Annam, the Malay peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo, and the Philippines. They killed innocent people and took prisoners as well as loot. Even famous military families, like the Ōuchi, adopted this profession and on occasion were proud to call themselves "Chiefs of the Pirates." Piracy was, indeed, regarded as an honorable profession for any class.<sup>89</sup>

These pirate bands were efficiently organized. They operated from various islands off the Japanese west coast, such as Tsushima and Iki; from the Goto

<sup>87</sup> *Nippon Kaijōkenryōkushi*, pp. 52–53.

<sup>88</sup> Kuno, I, 67–125, is excellent on Japanese piracy of the later medieval period. See also Ogasawara, pp. 85–110.

<sup>89</sup> The pirate groups (*kaizoku*) must not be confused with the legitimate sea forces (*suigun*), although the former often participated with the latter in times of crisis. The *suigun* were the small sea forces attached to various feudal lords along the coast, especially in the Inland Sea and Kyushu regions. Some *suigun* may have indulged in piracy from time to time, which is understandable. But if they did, they probably did so only sporadically because piracy was not their business.

Islands, off the northwest coast of Kyushu near Nagasaki; and from a group of islands off the southwest coast of Kyushu near Kagoshima. The pirate fleets usually consisted of about fifty ships, sometimes as many as two hundred or more, with each ship carrying at least a hundred men. A Chinese historian describes the pirates as "intrepid, inured to fatigue, despising life and knowing well how to face death; although inferior in number, a hundred of them would blush to flee before a *thousand foreigners*, and, if they did, they would not dare to return to their country."<sup>40</sup>

The Ashikaga government was alternately unable or unwilling to interfere with this piracy, despite the pleas of the Chinese and Korean authorities. At times it used the pirates for military operations of its own. Piracy began to wane in the middle of the sixteenth century, after the Chinese had begun to build extensive coast defenses, maintain large armies in the coastal provinces, and station warships along the coast. More important, with the establishment of a strong central government in Japan under Hideyoshi in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the Japanese government, for reasons of national dignity and self-respect, decided to stamp out piracy. In 1587-1588, Hideyoshi promulgated vigorous anti-piracy laws which had teeth. All the feudal lords and local officials were held strictly responsible for piracy committed in their areas.

The Japanese take great pride in these pirates and liken their exploits to those of Drake and Hawkins. The *wakō* (Japanese raiders) "caused all the countries of the Asiatic continental shore to tremble with fear." The pirate band with the most glorious history and traditions, from the Japanese point of view, was the one which operated in the South China Sea. It not only used advanced tactics but even designed "wooden submersible ships and propulsion instruments."<sup>41</sup> In one way the period of piracy may have retarded Japan's naval development. Since the pirates did their fighting on land, their ships were not effective as warships. This may have been a contributing factor toward the ineffectiveness of the warships of Hideyoshi's Korean campaigns. These campaigns can be considered as a culmination of the *wakō* era.

## VI

The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were a period of great commercial expansion for Japan. With the opening of a new ocean route by way of the Cape of Good Hope, foreign merchantmen, especially Spanish and Portuguese, began to reach Japan in the sixteenth century. From them

<sup>40</sup> Cited in Yamada, p. 236.

<sup>41</sup> Hirata, p. 13.

the Japanese learned something of the seamanship and maritime development of the Western world. Under this impetus they began to construct three-masted merchantmen of one hundred tons after the European type, and Japanese merchant ships were soon to be seen everywhere in south-eastern Asia.

This commercial renaissance was not accompanied by any corresponding increase in sea power. Although practically the whole country was transformed into a battlefield in the domestic wars of the Genki (1570-1572) and Tenshō (1573-1591) periods, the fighting was mostly on land. Sea battles were uncommon. The fleets which participated in the battle at the entrance to Osaka Bay in Nobunaga's Ishiyama offensive, and in Hideyoshi's Kyushu and Odawara expeditions, existed primarily for the purpose of attacking a fortress from the sea in conjunction with a land offensive.

However, the development of shipbuilding had progressed to the point where military expeditions overseas were practicable for the first time in far eastern history. The water barrier which had made the continent and Japan secure against large-scale invasion from the other was no longer effective. In this belief, Hideyoshi, the "Japanese Napoleon," planned to conquer, first, Korea, then China. In the spring of 1592 he was ready. At Nagoya (Karatsu today), Kyushu, he had assembled an army of 300,000, the largest ever brought together in Japan (of which a little under 200,000 actually made the crossing), a navy of about 700 war vessels, and 9,200 seamen. At the end of May, 1592, the army landed at Fusan (Pusan) on the southeast coast of Korea. So began the Bunroku campaign.<sup>42</sup>

The Koreans, although aware of Hideyoshi's preparations, were taken by surprise. By July the Japanese armies had overrun practically the whole peninsula. The two armies of Konishi and Katō captured Seoul (Keijo) on June 11, after which the two armies separated, Konishi striking northwest to capture P'yōngyang (Heijo), June 16, while Katō made a still deeper penetration, occupying Haeryōng (Kainei) in the extreme northeast. It was

<sup>42</sup> Japanese sources on Hideyoshi's Korean campaigns are fairly plentiful. Japanese literature consulted by the present writer includes Takayanagi, III, 298-99; Ōmori, *Dai Nippon Zenshi*, II, 854-64, 881-83; *Tōyō Rekishi Daijiten*, II, 170-71 (on the "Tortoise" ship); *Dai Nipponshi Kōza*, VI, 251-52, 258-62; Ogasawara, *Nippon Kaiōkenryōkushi*, pp. 115-37; Hanami Sakumi, ed., *Sōgō Nipponshi Taikei* [A Comprehensive Synthetic History of Japan] (Tokyo, 1926), VIII, 672-80. In English some of the details, not always correct, may be found in Murdoch, II, 334-58, *passim*. Especially valuable is Arthur L. Sadler, "The Naval Campaign in the Korean War of Hideyoshi (1592-1598)," Asiatic Soc. of Japan, *Transactions*, 2d series, XIV (June, 1937), 179-208, which is based on Vol. VII (pp. 243-678) of Tokutomi Ichiro's monumental *Kinsei Nippon Kokuminshi* [Modern History of the Japanese People]. Of interest is Horace W. Underwood, "The 'Turtle' and the Japs," *Yachting*, Feb., 1944, pp. 39-41, 94, which is based on indeterminate materials, possibly Korean; and Lt. Roy C. Smith III, U.S.N.R., "Yi-Sun Sin Defeated Japan at Sea," United States Naval Institute, *Proceedings*, LXX (June, 1944), 691-96.

planned to move the fleet around the coast so as to supply and reinforce Konishi's army. Everything was going so well that Hideyoshi announced on June 8 that he would leave Nagoya and assume personal command of his armies as soon as possible. A few days later, after the fall of Seoul, he reckoned that he would be in the Chinese capital (Peking) in October. A month later, in the second week of July, Hideyoshi's attitude suddenly changed. He now talked about the rough sea and the high winds in the early autumn and said that he would leave the following May, when conditions were better. Meanwhile, Konishi was stalled at P'yöngyang. The explanation for the behavior of Hideyoshi and Konishi lies in the naval situation. While the armies had plunged ahead "like a hurricane," the fleet had lost command of the sea.

In planning the campaign Hideyoshi had not altogether slighted the importance of a fleet. He had, for instance, tried to persuade Spanish priests to buy five or six large ships for him in their country, in return for which he would permit them to spread their religion when he had extended his empire to China. On another occasion he had tried to buy two heavily armed war galleons from Portuguese traders to aid him in his projected invasion of Korea. Hideyoshi's fundamental miscalculation lay in believing that he would have a superior fleet as soon as he had many war vessels and had put soldiers on them. And so, although he first professed the idea of conquering China to his generals in 1586, he did not use the next six years to train seamen. On the contrary, he crippled his navy potential in 1587 when he strictly forbade any overseas invasions directed against neighboring peoples. That is to say, he curbed the pirates, an act which led to the rapid decay of the only organized sea force in Japan.

Hideyoshi's other fundamental miscalculation lay in subordinating the fleet to the army. The only functions which he assigned to the fleet were to transport the land forces to the continent and then to cruise along the coast to protect the army's communications with its home bases. Co-operation with the army had been the traditional role of the navy. The wisdom of this strategy had been proved in the past, for land battles had, except for the defeat at the Hakuson-kö, always decided Japan's foreign and civil wars. It therefore seems never to have occurred to Hideyoshi that he should secure command of the sea before pouring troops into Korea.

Last-minute preparations in 1591-1592 resulted in an overnight fleet, totally unprepared when it was sent to the continent. Hideyoshi raised his warships in the contemporary English fashion by levies on the coastal districts. For every 100,000 *ko*ku of revenue (about 500,000 bushels), every feudal lord



whose domain bordered on the sea furnished two large junks. The feudal lords under Hideyoshi's direct control had to supply three large and three medium-sized ships per 100,000 *koku*. A large number of Hideyoshi's ships, probably a majority, were small, fragile, not very seaworthy wooden vessels, fifty to sixty feet long with a twenty to thirty-foot beam. A single square sail was spread to favoring winds but was useless unless the wind was well abaft the beam. When the wind failed, or if the ship met a contrary one, it had to be propelled by ten to twenty oars, for it could not tack. There were a number of large ships over one hundred feet long and about thirty-six feet broad. One ship is described as "180 feet long by 42 feet wide, with a hundred oars and towers in the bow and stern," others as having two and three decks and castles towering high above the water. The largest had a complement of about three hundred men. As is apparent, there was no uniformity in the speed, size, and construction of the ships.

Hideyoshi's fleet was not manned by professional sailors. To be sure, every fishing village was compelled to provide ten sailors for every hundred houses which it contained. Yet, savage fighters on land, these men knew little about sea fighting and there was no time to train them. The inadequacies of the fleet commanders were still more striking. Of the nine squadron commanders, Kurushima Yasuchika, Wakizaka Yasuharu, Katō Yoshiaki, Kuki Yoshitaka, and Tōdō Takatora had some sea experience. Kuki, Wakizaka, and Katō had commanded Hideyoshi's ships in the Kyushu campaign of 1587 and the Odawara campaign of 1590. Kurushima had been a famous pirate. But of the lot perhaps only Kuki had any real naval knowledge. The fleet commanders lacked technical knowledge and skill. For instance, although the hydrography and geography of the southern Korean coast are extremely confused, the Japanese commanders did not study the depth of the sea, the current, the direction of wind, or topographical conditions. They simply did not take these factors into consideration. How different it had been at Dan-no-ura, where Yoshitsune had taken great pains in investigating tide conditions.

Matters were worsened by Hideyoshi's failure to appoint a naval commander-in-chief. Since all the commanders were equal in power, it proved impossible for them to take unified action. Mutually jealous, they struggled for personal glory to the point where each claimed credit for a victory, kept his colleagues in the dark about his own plans, executed his own tactics and strategy, and even kept to himself, as much as possible, the enemy's position, if he happened to discover it. As an example of what was the normal situation, during one battle in the first campaign both Kuki and Wakizaka



threw their grappling ropes on the same enemy ship. Wakizaka had one of his men cut Kuki's rope. Kuki, irritated, wanted to fight his colleague, and while a heated squabble raged, the enemy ship got out of reach.

In individual bravery the commanders were superb. To cite one instance, in the battle of Tangdo Island, in the second campaign, Katō captured an enemy ship single-handed. But this fleet of *prima donnas* was totally unable to act as a unit. Hideyoshi knew his fleet. His (ineffectual) orders to the nine commanders read as follows:

1. In councils of war at sea, the majority decision should be followed.
2. You should help each other promptly in time of danger.
3. If you should see anything remarkable in the action of the enemy, you should inform each other.
4. You should correctly state the relative importance of your achievements, without showing any partiality or committing any irregularities.
5. You should not try to steal the exploits of others and make them your own.<sup>43</sup>

A word about tactics. Most of the soldier-seamen were armed with vicious two-edged swords and some with muskets, a weapon introduced into Japan by the Portuguese. Each ship had its complement of archers. The Japanese idea of naval warfare was to lay their ships alongside the enemy, board, and fight it out at close quarters. The Japanese ships, it appears, were not equipped with artillery of any kind, though it is possible that some of them carried a single cannon.<sup>44</sup> In a word, as Japanese historians agree, Hideyoshi's naval force was merely an instrument for carrying soldiers; it had neither special naval training nor equipment.

If in Japan the fleet was strictly subordinated to the army, it was the other way around in Korea, where the army had been neglected. For several decades before 1592, Korea had considered the fleet the most important element in national defense. Ironically, the Koreans (as well as the Chinese) owed their naval progress to the stimulating effect of their long fight against the *wakō*. Their seamen were professionals; naturally, then, Korean seamanship was superior to the Japanese. The Korean superiority in ships was equally pronounced. Their ships were, by and large, bigger, faster, and better constructed. "Most of them were two-masted war junks, rigged with balanced lug sails similar to those used on Chinese and Korean junks today. The fore-and-aft rig, with the deep hung rudder serving as a sort of centerboard, was

<sup>43</sup> There were two other clauses. The above is my translation of the orders as they appear in Ogasawara, pp. 434-35, as modified by the translation given in Sadler, in *Asiatic Soc. of Japan, Transactions*, 2d series, XIV, 208.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Underwood, in *Yachting*, Feb., 1944, p. 40; C. R. Boxer, "Notes on Early European Military Influence in Japan (1543-1853)," *Asiatic Soc. of Japan, Transactions*, 2d series, VIII (1931), 70.

vastly superior to the Japanese for maneuvers under sail, and made it possible for the Korean ships to sail close to the wind."<sup>45</sup> But the principal advantage of the Korean ships lay in their armament. They were armed with many long-range guns, fire-arrows (propelled by fire-projectors), and crude but effective incendiary bombs.

The Koreans had other trumps. They possessed a remarkable naval genius, Yi Sun-sin, the "Nelson of the Orient," a brilliant tactician, strategist, and naval engineer. Yi's battle tactics were far in advance of anything seen before in the Far East. They included the use of the smoke screen (a sulphurous smoke which rolled "like a fog" out of the jaws of the tortoise head at the bow of the "tortoise ship"), and the line-ahead formation, which developed from a "stork's wing" formation (line abreast with the two wings slightly in advance of the center). As the Korean fleet drew near the enemy, the left wing luffed before the wind, a tactic which permitted the right wing to pull ahead until what had been a broad arrow in reverse became a line-ahead formation. Similar tactics had been used by Drake against the Spanish Armada in 1588. Yi also made use of his knowledge of Korean topography. Personally, he was noted for his iron nerves and his tact. Through his tactful handling of the Chinese admiral, Ch'en Lin, who was sent to co-operate with him in the second campaign, giving him credit for joint victories, and consulting him at all times, he was able to command both navies with a minimum of friction. Thus, Yi was an effective commander-in-chief, something which the Japanese did not have.

Moreover, Yi had designed and built an unknown number of ships of a revolutionary type, a sort of sixteenth century dreadnought possessing tremendous offensive and defensive power. Because of its resemblance to a tortoise or turtle (curving back, tortoise head at the bow, tortoise tail at the stern), this type was called the "Tortoise" by the Japanese. It was about 65 feet (*shaku*) long, 12 feet at the bow, 10½ feet at the stern, and 14½ feet amidships.<sup>46</sup> The deck of the "Tortoise" was protected against fire, arrows, and bullets by a sloping covering of thick, solid timber planks. This roof of timbers protected the ship's complement—fighting men and rowers. There was no personnel on deck, navigation being managed from the ship's interior. The ship was propelled by twenty oars (ten on each beam) and was fitted with an auxiliary sail which was lowered in combat. In place of bulwarks the ship had long, upright spikes (*kirigatana*), concealed by piles of reeds,

<sup>45</sup> Underwood, in *Yachting*, Feb., 1944, p. 40.

<sup>46</sup> *Tōyō Rekishi Daijiten*, II, 171; but Underwood, in *Yachting*, Feb., 1944, p. 40, gives the size of the "Tortoise" at double these figures: 120 feet in length with a beam of less than 30 feet.

which made boarding difficult and hazardous. When the Korean troops were about to emerge and board a Japanese ship, the spikes were removed. These defensive powers were designed to keep the Japanese at a respectable distance, for, as indicated, Japanese tactics were to close swiftly and board. The "Tortoise's" offensive powers were six guns which projected from ports on each broadside and other guns ahead and astern. Between the ports were narrow slits through which fire-arrows could be poured on the enemy.

There is a difference of opinion as to whether the "Tortoise" had iron armor as additional protection over the timbers. Western opinion, following Murdoch, Ballard, and Brinkley, has accepted without question the ironclad theory. Japanese writers are divided on this point. Some of those read by this writer refer to copper or iron sheets over the timber.<sup>47</sup> The scholarly *Tōyō Rekishi Daijiten* does not mention any metal covering.<sup>48</sup> Sadler, using Tokutomi, flatly asserts that there is no firsthand evidence that the "Tortoise" had iron armor. At the same time Sadler denies the common Western theory that the "Tortoise" had a ram.<sup>49</sup> Altogether, if we except the possible iron deck, although the type was far superior to anything the Japanese had, there was nothing especially novel about the "Tortoise," beyond the spiked deck. The contemporary warships of Europe had the same kind of armament. In summary, we can say that Yi broke with the Oriental tradition of using warships as mere platforms on which soldiers might fight. He regarded warships in terms of fire power.

It was imperative that the Japanese fleet seize command of the sea in the Korea Strait previous to the transport of the army. In spite of this, Kuki, Wakizaka, and Tōdō arrived at headquarters in Nagoya on May 21, after most of the expeditionary force had left Nagoya and arrived in Iki and Tsushima. The fleet appeared in Fusan Harbor on June 7, actually fifteen days after the first units had landed in Fusan. It was fortunate for Japan that the Korean government was slow in drawing up plans for coping with the invasion, and that its naval opponent was the admiral of Kyōngsang (Keishō) Province, Wōn Kyun, who was responsible for defending the southeast coast of Korea. Instead of remaining passive, had he adopted an offensive strategy and attacked the Japanese communications with the peninsula, a crisis might well have resulted at the outset. But Wōn Kyun was a third-rate commander, fond of liquor and defensive strategy, and averse to consulting his subordinates.

<sup>47</sup> *Dai Nipponshi Kōza*, VI, 252; Hanami, VIII, 679; Ogasawara, p. 137.

<sup>48</sup> Vol. II, 171.

<sup>49</sup> Sadler, in Asiatic Soc. of Japan, *Transactions*, 2d series, XIV, 180; and see Murdoch, II, 336n, which quotes a Japanese authority in support of the Sadler-Tokutomi theory on the iron deck.

The Japanese fleet soon met Wōn Kyun's fleet at Kadōk Island (Katoku-jima) to the west of Fusan. The sacred Korean commander fled and appealed to the admiral of the neighboring province of Chōlla (Zenra) for help. This was the redoubtable Yi Sun-sin. Meanwhile, the Japanese established bases of operation at Fusan and vicinity. Part of the fleet patrolled the sea between Fusan and Nagoya. Other units prepared for their voyage to the rendezvous on the northwest coast with Konishi's army. Shortly after, on June 16, the first division set out and immediately ran into Yi at Okp'o (Gyokuhō) on the east coast of Kōje (Kyosaitō) Island, southwest of Fusan. Yi and a fleet of about eighty-five ships attacked a Japanese fleet of possibly the same size and sank most of it in a two-hour battle. Yi noted in his diary that the Japanese warriors, in iron armor, hideous masks, and fantastic helmets, "were like beasts or devils and enough to frighten anyone."<sup>80</sup> Japanese arrows and musket-balls made little impression on the one or more "Tortoises," whose broadsides, supplemented by a shower of fire-arrows, were too much for the Japanese. The Koreans also used bombs, catapulted or tossed, with great effect whenever Japanese ships came close enough. The survivors beat a hasty retreat to Fusan and spread alarmist stories about the "Tortoise."

When the Japanese fleet again tried to go north, Yi met it on July 8 at Sach'ōn (Shisen) on the coast northwest of Kōje Island. Yi, pretending to retreat—a favorite stratagem—lured the Japanese out of their strong position, then suddenly ordered his ships around and defeated his strung-out pursuers. A few days later, he defeated a small enemy squadron west of Hansan Island, which is just west of Kōje, and followed it up by enticing another squadron from the harbor of Tangp'o (north of Kōje) out into the open sea and practically annihilating it. Another successful engagement followed at Yulp'o, north of Okp'o, with a small Japanese squadron. These battles were small actions, "but they destroyed a number of Japanese ships and hampered the movements of their transports, for they did not feel safe very far away from their strongly fortified base at Fusan."

On August 14 there took place a decisive battle in the Hansan Strait north of Hansan Island. A Japanese fleet of seventy ships commanded by Kuki, Katō, and Wakizaka, en route to P'yōngyang, was at anchor in the harbor of Kyōn Nae Riāng, halfway up the strait. The harbor not being spacious enough for maneuver, Yi succeeded in drawing Wakizaka's squadron out to sea and destroyed most of it by heavy fire. The ships which had remained behind fled to An-kol Harbor on the coast west of Fusan, where they were badly cut up by Yi. As a result of these battles, the Japanese

<sup>80</sup> Sadler, in Asiatic Soc. of Japan, *Transactions*, 2d series, XIV, 186.

fleet was bottled up in Fusan Bay and refused to be lured out. Yi now had undisputed command of the sea and controlled Japan's lines of communication and supply. With communications between the Japanese sea and land forces cut, the reinforcement and supply situation for the Japanese armies became acute. These armies needed about 7,500 bushels of provisions a day. Pillaging and requisitioning were not enough. The difficulties of Konishi's army were multiplied by an epidemic. The invading armies were unable to advance further and had their hands full maintaining themselves.

Nor was the situation improved for the Japanese when, early in October, Yi unsuccessfully attempted to deal the Japanese fleet a death blow by destroying its main base at Fusan. If successful, Yi would have completely isolated the Japanese forces in Korea from the main home base at Nagoya. This time Yi bit off too much. When he advanced into Fusan Harbor, his 200-odd ships had to face 470 Japanese ships, "anchored in long lines along the shore. Almost 500 ships lay lashed gunwale to gunwale in five lines of about 100 each; the largest vessels formed the outer line with the smallest next the shore. The formation amounted to a great floating pier crowded with fighting men. Some 400 small cannon had been concentrated on the seaward side of the outermost line." These ships, drawn up close under strong forts and entrenchments, swept Yi's ships with a hail of arrows, stones, and bullets. The battle grew hot. "Back and forth the Korean ships plied, pouring in broadside after broadside. Lashed together, the flames spread rapidly from one to another of the Japanese fleet . . . [and] too late, they attempted to cut loose and push off the fiercely burning hulks of the front line. The wind drifted them inexorably back again."<sup>51</sup> In short, the Japanese "protective squadrons" were defeated and dispersed.

Although he had inflicted heavy damage on the Japanese fleet, Yi was forced to retire to lick his own wounds. Nevertheless, he maintained command of the sea and Japan's military plans in Korea remained seriously handicapped. Konishi at P'yöngyang waited in vain for his supply ships. On land the Japanese now had to face Chinese as well as Korean armies. Early in 1593 the Japanese armies in the north were forced to fall back on Seoul. Finally, they were compelled to retire to Fusan. In October, 1593, Japan evacuated Korea, except for 10,000 troops who were left in Fusan. Indeed, by the spring of 1593 both sides had had enough. A truce in June was followed by prolonged peace negotiations for over three years, which resulted only in a deadlock.

In February and March, 1597, Hideyoshi launched his second invasion

<sup>51</sup> Underwood, in *Yachting*, Feb., 1944, p. 41.

of Korea, the Keichō campaign, this time with an army of 140,000. The fleet was a somewhat more efficient force than in the first campaign, as regards both seamanship and quality of ships. A more important advantage was the demoralization of the Korean fleet. Court intrigues, to which Konishi made his contribution, had deprived Yi of his command. An unreconstructed Wōn Kyun assumed command of the fleet. As in the first campaign, the Japanese got off to a good start on land and sea. In a battle on the night of August 22, 1597, Tōdō, Wakizaka, and Katō severely mauled the Korean fleet at Tangdo (Karatō) Island, north of Kōje, setting 160 or more ships on fire. The Japanese again defeated Wōn Kyun on August 27 in a battle near Zekkeitō Island. Wōn Kyun was killed in action. Meanwhile, with command of the sea on Korea's southern coast theirs, the Japanese army made swift progress on land. The southern half of the peninsula, up to about the thirty-seventh parallel, was overrun and the Chinese and Korean armies were crushed.

Greatly alarmed, the Korean government recalled Yi as commander-in-chief. Yi hurriedly scraped together a few war vessels and defeated a much larger enemy force by a stratagem in the vicinity of Chindo (Chintō) Island. He spread iron chains in the very narrow Meiyōto Strait between the east coast of Chindo and the coast of Chōlla Province—a tactic which might be compared with the harassment of an enemy by mines today. When the Japanese commander Suga and a fleet of two hundred ships attempted to pass through the strait, Yi “pulled in and spread” the chains. Thirteen ships of the advance Japanese squadron keeled over. The ships behind them, thrown into confusion, crashed into each other and sank. Yi's gunfire completely smashed the rest of the advance squadron. When the other squadrons heard that Yi was on the scene, they became demoralized and took to “hiding in the shadows of islands and bays.” By the spring of 1598, the Korean fleet, reinforced by a Chinese fleet, once more had command of the sea. Again the invading armies faced a supply crisis, aggravated by the fact that Korea had been so thoroughly devastated in the first campaign. The advance army stopped at Chiksan (Shokusan) in central Korea and waited in vain for the establishment of contact with the fleet before advancing.

In September, 1598, Hideyoshi died, and in accordance with his will, it was decided to liquidate the campaign. An armistice was concluded. Despite this, the Korean-Chinese fleet fell on the Japanese transports during the evacuation. Substantial losses (about two hundred ships) were inflicted on the Japanese off their naval base at Su-chong (December 16). However, the Koreans and Chinese themselves suffered heavy damage, especially in the

death of Yi, who was killed in action. The Japanese completed their evacuation without further interference.

The Seven Years' War, which had begun as the first stage of a grandiose project for conquering most of Asia, and of making Peking the capital of the Japanese Empire, had ended without territorial, financial, or political gains. In Japan it is picturesquely called the *Ryo-tō Da-bi* or "The Dragon-head and Snake-tail" campaign. That is, the Japanese had started "like a house on fire." Nevertheless, the war had an important influence on later generations. The brilliant military exploits of these years convinced the younger generation after the Meiji Restoration that victory in a war with China or Korea was a certainty.<sup>52</sup> As a contemporary Japanese historian has written:

Though a failure, the war enhanced national prestige and, with the Empress Jingō's Korean conquest, is a "flower" which should adorn our history. As a precursor of the foreign campaigns of Meiji, we believe that the achievement, which strengthened the will of our people and stimulated and inspired later generations, is not to be underrated.<sup>53</sup>

Modern Japanese historians all attribute Hideyoshi's failure to the ineffectiveness of his fleet. The moral is perfectly clear to them.<sup>54</sup> But it is doubtful if the Japanese of that day had learned the lesson of sea power. Although they did blame the failure of the campaigns on naval weakness, they did not understand the concept of the command of the sea. Hideyoshi apparently thought that better ships and army-navy co-operation, with the object of improving the army's chances, would have prevented the debacle. It seems never to have occurred to him that command of the sea was the prerequisite for success on land in an oversea campaign, and that command of the sea could be assured only by defeating or bottling up the enemy's naval forces. Or, if it did occur to him, the risk of naval losses inherent in an offensive strategy was deemed too great.<sup>55</sup> One thing is perfectly clear. Had Japan possessed command of the sea in the waters surrounding the Korean peninsula, she would not only have been able to subjugate all of Korea but would have invaded Ming China. But for the brilliance of Yi Sun-sin, three centuries ago the Japanese would have been well on the way toward carving out a huge empire.

<sup>52</sup> Kuno, I, 173-77.

<sup>53</sup> Ōmori, *Dai Nippon Zenshi*, II, 883.

<sup>54</sup> See, e.g., *Dai Nipponshi Kōza*, VI, 258; Ōmori, *Dai Nippon Zenshi*, II, 863; Takayanagi, III, 298-99; Ogasawara, pp. 126, 131. Ogasawara finds in Korea's experiences in these campaigns confirmation of the lesson of the Mongol campaigns, namely, that Japan must not fight on its own soil. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>55</sup> See Alexander Kiralfy, "Japanese Naval Strategy," in Edward Mead Earle, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton, 1943), pp. 465-67.



We have a firsthand account of life in the Japanese fleet during the Korean campaigns. A Korean captive on board the Japanese flagship described how the Japanese commander

used to sit on the quarter deck attired in yellow brocade with a gilt head-dress and everything about him was luxuriously appointed. Every evening the captains of the other ships used to come aboard to salute him and receive his orders, sitting the while in a humble attitude with their heads to the mats. Anyone who disobeyed him was immediately decapitated. Often they had a banquet with wine, and talked and laughed merrily. . . . When the arrows and shots rained on the high castle of the ship he sat quite unmoved. Then an arrow struck him in the chest and he fell.<sup>56</sup>

## VII

Japanese sea power went into a tailspin after 1636. In 1633, the shogun, Tokugawa Iyemitsu, with the aim of stamping out Christianity in Japan, prohibited Japanese ships from sailing to foreign countries unless especially licensed by the shogunate. In 1636, Iyemitsu strictly forbade the sailing of Japanese ships to foreign countries and the construction of all vessels of ocean-going capacity. It was illegal to build ships larger than five hundred *koku* (about fifty tons) displacement. All ships larger than five hundred *koku* were destroyed. Western ships were not allowed to come to Japan, except for Dutch merchantmen, who were permitted to trade at Nagasaki under severe limitations. These decrees ushered in the period of isolation and the period of naval impotence. Although Iyemitsu realized the necessity of protecting Japanese trade and colonists (Japanese colonies had mushroomed in many South Sea islands) by a sea force, he feared that such a force might fall into the hands of a disloyal subject who would start a civil war.

Occasionally a farsighted Japanese leader tried to awaken the people to the urgent necessity of building coast defenses and a strong navy for defense, but the feudal government of the Tokugawa shoguns paid no attention and continued to enforce the ban on ocean-going ships. The navy, under these conditions, ceased to exist for over two centuries. The nation's seafaring spirit practically disappeared. "The mention of the dangers of the sea almost frightened them," says one Japanese historian. The *funa-bugyō* or ship administrator of the shogunate had only to supervise the small boats of the feudal lords, which were used for local trips, and the pleasure boats of the shogun. Of warships charged with the duty of national defense, there was not even one.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Cited in Sadler, in Asiatic Soc. of Japan, *Transactions*, 2d series, XIV, 193.

<sup>57</sup> Heibonsha (publishing house), ed., *Dai Hyakka jiten* [An Encyclopedia], IV (Tokyo, 1932), 381.



The Japanese hibernation could not last forever. The English, after conquering India in the eighteenth century, turned their eyes to the Far East. The Russians occupied Siberia and appeared on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk. The steam engine revolutionized maritime transport in the West. The trip to the Far East, which had taken two years in Hideyoshi's day, was shortened to a few months. Under these new conditions, British and French ships from the south and Russian ships from the north began to visit Japanese waters frequently in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1853 the isolation of Japan collapsed entirely with the sudden appearance of the American Commodore Perry in Yedo (Tokyo) Bay, to arrange a commercial treaty, with a squadron of four "black ships." These were the first steamers the Japanese had ever seen. Perry's visit created an extraordinary sensation in Japan. Even before Perry the visits of foreign warships had stimulated interest in marine transportation, and now, two months after Perry's arrival (September, 1853), the shogun issued a decree withdrawing the prohibition against building large ships (it had not been enforced for many years).

The state of Japanese maritime art at the time of Perry's unwelcome visit is vividly illustrated by the model in the Japanese "Annapolis" at Etajima of the type of Japanese ship in use in the pre-Perry period. This vessel was a slightly modified Chinese junk, with high stern and low, pointed bow; red lacquered freeboard pierced with square ports and ornamented with round bosses of gold; two banks of sculling-oars below the ports; a single mast, crossed by a single yard from which hung one big triangular sail made of vertical strips of canvas laced together; and four huge paper lanterns, hanging in square frames at the top of posts, above what would now be called the forecabin and on either side of the high, square stern.<sup>58</sup>

Such gigantic strides were made that the country which in 1853 had no navy at all in the modern sense, but only single-sail ships equipped with oars and paper lanterns, had, a half century later, powerful warships with steam power, armored sides, turrets, electric lights, torpedo tubes, and high-powered quick-firing guns: the strongest navy in the Orient and, next to Great Britain, Germany, France, and the United States, the fifth strongest in the world.

## VIII

The foundations of the modern Japanese navy were laid in the pre-Tokugawa centuries of Japan's history. Certain naval traditions were fixed which were to influence the subsequent development of the imperial navy. The tradition of individual valor was one. Also, despite the centuries of con-

<sup>58</sup> G. Kennan, "A Japanese Naval School," *Outlook*, LXXVII (Aug. 27, 1904), 978.

centration on internal affairs, the tradition of the use of the fleet as an instrument of aggressive imperialism had already been deeply rooted. In particular, it was sensed that Japan's security required control of the Korea Strait, which meant controlling the peninsula itself. The modern navy profited from Hideyoshi's mistakes. It was realized in Meiji that careful naval preparations must be made in peacetime, regardless of who the potential enemy might be. Jingō's words were often recalled in this connection: "Despise not the enemy, though his numbers may be few; shrink not from him, though his numbers may be many."

This leads one to a brief consideration of the divergence of views between two qualified historians.<sup>59</sup> Simplified, Mr. Kiralfy's thesis, based on a competent survey of Japanese naval history, is that Japan's navy has always been subordinated to the support of land operations, for which reason, basically, it has been defensively minded. Dr. Possony, on the other hand, virtually ignores Japan's pre-Meiji naval history and finds in her modern history ample proof that her navy "must be deemed as an essentially offensive force." It seems to the present writer that both Kiralfy and Possony are partly right. Strategically, the pre-Meiji fleet was regarded mainly as a means of transporting and protecting expeditionary forces. Tactically, it was at times used cautiously, particularly in Hideyoshi's Korean campaigns; but, when properly led, as at Dan-no-ura, it was permeated with the offensive spirit. A favorite quotation in modern times is the words in Takezaki Suenaga's Mongol Scroll: "It is the duty of a soldier to advance." These were the words which Admiral Tōgō had inscribed on Takezaki's tomb in the twentieth century. Ogasawara, in an interesting article on the "War Tactics of the Medieval Fleet," shows how much the modern imperial navy owes to the medieval sea force.<sup>60</sup> According to Ogasawara, the basic principles remained unchanged in Japan's modern navy and were successfully applied by Admiral Tōgō in the battle of Tsushima Strait, May 27-28, 1905. As they appeared in certain medieval naval writings, these principles were:

1. Win first and fight afterwards [which from the text appears to mean: thorough preparations and prosecution of the war lead to certain victory].
2. Do [it] to the enemy before he does [it] to you [that is, be a victor, not a victim].
3. Make the enemy move for you.
4. Fight like a high-strung bow [that is, fight violently and instantaneously like the discharge of an arrow from a high-strung bow].
5. Fight aggressively, not passively.

<sup>59</sup> Kiralfy, in Earle, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*, and the critique by Stefan T. Possony, "Japanese Naval Strategy," U. S. Naval Inst., *Proceedings*, LXX (May, 1944), 515-24.

<sup>60</sup> "Chūkō Suigun no Sempō," *Shigaku Zasshi* [Historical Review], XVII (1906), 83-106.

While, therefore, it is true to say that “ancient and feudal Japan never possessed a fleet in the proper sense of the word”—a standing navy with a definite organization, trained personnel, etc.—it is not true to say that “there is no connection between the fishing vessels and coastal craft of feudal Japan and the modern Japanese Navy.”<sup>61</sup> The old *kaizoku* and *suigun* made definite contributions to the spirit and thinking of the modern navy. It is for this reason that Japanese naval historians have paid considerable attention to the pre-Meiji fleet.

<sup>61</sup> Possony, in U. S. Naval Inst., *Proceedings*, LXX, 516–17.

# Violations of Secrecy *In Re* Senate Executive Sessions, 1789-1929

R. EARL McCLENDON\*

FOR well over a century after the present government of the United States was set up, the upper branch of Congress normally conducted its nonlegislative business, principally those matters relating to treaties and nominations, in closed executive sessions. During the latter part of this period, however, it departed from this general practice in certain rare cases. There were, to cite examples, open deliberations on the fisheries treaty with Great Britain, February 15, 1888; the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France, August 3, 1911; the Treaty of Versailles at the close of the first World War; the World Court protocol; and the Kellogg Pact. Then in 1929 the Senate virtually abolished all secret sessions. This technical development in the rules was fully in keeping with the spirit of the times. But to a large extent it merely legalized a condition of long standing, for in reality the Senate rules on secrecy had never been wholly respected or effectively enforced. Therein lies a rather involved story which, heretofore neglected, warrants a careful study.<sup>1</sup> It may be understood best, however, following a brief historical survey of those regulations.

From the outset it was expected, of course, that the Senate would attempt to maintain secrecy regarding executive business; and so it did. In addition, for the first five years of its existence that body sat behind closed doors in legislative sessions as well.<sup>2</sup> The first regular rule on secrecy, however, was not adopted until December, 1800. Prompted by a request of President Adams that the Senate keep in strict confidence copies of instructions to the envoys who had negotiated the French convention of that year, it read as follows:

Resolved that all confidential communications made by the President of the United States to the Senate shall be, by the members thereof, kept inviolably secret;

\*The author is professor of social sciences at Sam Houston State Teachers College in Huntsville, Texas.

<sup>1</sup> Professor George H. Haynes in his admirable work, *The Senate of the United States: Its History and Practice* (Boston, 1938), devotes appropriately enough only five pages (II, 665-70) to this phase of the Senate's activities. Even less attention is paid to it in other studies, such as Samuel B. Crandall, *Treaties: Their Making and Enforcement* (New York, 1916); Denna Frank Fleming, *The Treaty Veto of the American Senate* (New York, 1930); and William S. Holt, *Treaties Defeated by the Senate* (Baltimore, 1933).

<sup>2</sup> Early in 1794, the Senate adopted a resolution stating that the Senate chamber should be provided with galleries which, after that session of Congress, would be opened during regular legislative sessions. See *Senate Journal*, 3 Congress, 1 session, February 20, 1794, p. 33. Cf. Crandall, p. 84.

and that all treaties which may hereafter be laid before the Senate shall also be kept secret, until the Senate shall by its resolution, take off the injunction of secrecy.<sup>3</sup>

In January, 1820, the Senate agreed that when "acting on confidential or executive business" the chamber should be cleared of all persons except the senators themselves, the secretary, the sergeant-at-arms, and other necessary officers.<sup>4</sup> A new rule adopted in May, 1844, provided that a member of the Senate convicted of disclosing for publication any written or printed matter designated by the Senate as confidential would be liable to expulsion. Any officer guilty of such an offense would be subject to dismissal.<sup>5</sup> In 1868 an amendment to the rules specifically enjoined secrecy upon remarks, votes, and proceedings dealing with treaties, as well as upon the actual texts and relevant communications from the President. At the same time the Senate voted to require that all of its officers be sworn to secrecy when acting on confidential or executive business.<sup>6</sup> A few years later even the lamp-lighter functioning in "the loft over the Senate Chamber during executive sessions" was required to take a similar oath.<sup>7</sup>

No further general restrictive measures were adopted. On the contrary, the opposite trend set in. There had developed slowly through the years, both in and out of the upper branch of Congress, a rather strong sentiment in favor of reducing secrecy in all senate activities to a minimum.<sup>8</sup> Theoretically, this movement gained a large measure of success on March 6, 1888, by the adoption of amendments which permitted, but did not prescribe, open sessions for all executive business. In such cases, of course, the injunction of secrecy would be removed from relevant treaties and confidential communications from the President.<sup>9</sup> Actually, the use of this alternate method of pro-

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* (Washington, 1828-1911), I, 361. This work will be cited hereafter as *Senate Executive Journal*.

<sup>4</sup> *Senate Journal*, 16 Cong., 1 sess., Jan. 3, 1820, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, VI, 273.

<sup>6</sup> *Senate Journal*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., Mar. 25, 1868, p. 345.

<sup>7</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, XXII, 496.

<sup>8</sup> Henry H. Gilfry, comp., *Precedents: Decisions on Points of Order with Phraseology in the United States Senate from the First Congress to the End of the Sixtieth Congress, 1789-1909* (Washington, 1909) (issued also as *Senate Document* no. 129, 61 Cong., 1 sess.) cites with appurtenant references numerous attempts made by the Senate to curtail secrecy in that body. See especially pp. 170-86, 358. In this connection also, the reader's attention is called to Dorman B. Eaton, *Secret Sessions of the Senate: Their Origin, Their Motive, Their Object, and Their Effect* (New York, 1886). The author was the well-known civil service reformer, the book a positive diatribe against secrecy in the Senate. Eaton chiefly relates the practice to the spoils system, charging that senators maintained it largely in order to build up patronage. He believes that "vicious human nature just as naturally prompts a Senator to secrecy for rejecting a good nomination and confirming a bad one, as it prompts a bad boy to choose the night for stealing water-melons or robbing a hen roost" (p. 64).

<sup>9</sup> *Senate Journal*, 50 Cong., 1 sess., Mar. 6, 1888, p. 428. Technically, there were several amendments involved. One of them specified that at any stage in the proceedings on a treaty the

cedure was infrequent. In other words, following the amendments of 1888, the old order continued to prevail and the Senate still initiated all executive business in closed session though it might on rare occasions open the doors for a complete or partial consideration of the matter in hand.

The next and final change in Senate rules to be noted in this connection completely reversed the whole procedure just outlined. An amendment adopted on June 18, 1929, reads in part as follows:

Hereinafter all business in the Senate shall be transacted in open session, unless the Senate in closed session by a majority vote shall determine that a particular nomination, treaty, or other matter shall be considered in closed executive session, in which case all subsequent proceedings with respect to said nomination, treaty, or other matter shall be kept secret.

It was agreed furthermore that by a majority vote the injunction of secrecy might be removed from proceedings held in closed session and that any individual senator was privileged to make public his vote cast therein.<sup>10</sup> Relatively speaking, however, closed executive sessions of the Senate have been as uncommon since 1929 as open executive sessions were during the forty-one years immediately preceding that date.

Despite the precautions which it took prior to 1929 the Senate was never wholly successful in keeping matters related to its executive sessions secret. A systematic, though by no means exhaustive, survey of the leading newspapers of the country, checked against official records now available to the public, has revealed the fact that in literally hundreds of cases news of such proceedings had been published long before the injunction of secrecy was removed. To determine the exact number, even if it were possible, would serve no useful purpose whatever. The primary aim of this study is to make a careful review of a few typical examples. This may well be prefaced, however, by the pointed testimony, written in 1906, of a journalist with twenty years of experience as the Washington correspondent of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*:

The most perplexing question to public men in Washington, and to some extent throughout the country, is how the proceedings of an executive session of the Senate become known so soon to the public press. These sessions are unquestionably private and each senator is pledged not to divulge anything that transpires therein without it is agreed to make it public. Many matters come up there, such

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Senate "may remove the injunction of secrecy, or proceed with its consideration in open executive session."

<sup>10</sup> *Senate Journal*, 71 Cong., 1 sess., June 18, 1929, p. 122. All Senate rules are printed in the *Senate Manual*, an edition of which appears ordinarily during each Congress, as a Senate document. Any copy printed since 1929 will suffice for the purpose at hand. See, for instance *Senate Document* no. 172, 75 Cong., 3 sess., pp. 39-45, for rules 39-45, inclusive, which relate to executive sessions.

as treaties with foreign countries, publicity concerning which would surely be embarrassing to say the least, to our Government and yet publicity follows promptly in most cases, and the more important the subject the more certain it is that the public will be informed.<sup>11</sup>

The first case of a news leak from the proceedings of the Senate in executive session to be taken up in this survey occurred in connection with the well-known Treaty for the Annexation of Texas, April 12, 1844.<sup>12</sup> Ten days after it was signed President Tyler sent the treaty, accompanied by relevant diplomatic correspondence, to the Senate.<sup>13</sup> That body immediately ordered that the President's message, the treaty, and the accompanying documents be printed in confidence for the use of its members. Yet on April 27, 1844, they all were published in the New York *Evening Post*. A committee appointed by the Senate for the purpose of investigation reported it had directed that a "process be served" on William G. Boggs, indicated as the publisher of the paper concerned, requiring that he appear for questioning. Meanwhile Senator Benjamin Tappan of Ohio informed the committee that he had given copies of the documents to Jonathan D. Stevenson, "about leaving the city for New York," with the request that they be delivered to one of the editors of the *Evening Post*. This admission naturally checked further investigation.

The committee chairman then offered a resolution providing that because of his act Tappan be expelled from the Senate. This proposal, however, received but scant support. Instead, that body adopted resolutions stating that the Ohio senator had been guilty of a flagrant violation of the rules of the Senate and disregard of its authority, but ruled that in consideration of "the acknowledgement and apology tendered for his said offense no further censure be inflicted upon him." The whole affair, however, spurred the Senate to the adoption of the standing rule which made a member guilty of an act such as Tappan's liable to expulsion, and an officer of the Senate to dismissal from its service.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Orlando O. Stealy, *Twenty Years in the Press Gallery: A Concise History of Important Legislation from the 48th to the 58th Congress* (New York, 1906), p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> One earlier instance probably should not be overlooked entirely. While the Jay Treaty was under consideration Senator A. T. Mason sent a copy for publication to the editor of the newspaper *Aurora*. This antedated, of course, the adoption of regular rules of the Senate on secrecy. At the particular time the Senate had removed the injunction of secrecy regarding the treaty, but members were enjoined not to permit publication of the treaty. Yet that body passed no formal censure upon Mason for his action. See *Senate Executive Journal*, I, 178, 179, 181. Cf. Haynes, II, 665-66; Ralston Hayden, *The Senate and Treaties, 1789-1817* (New York, 1920), pp. 88-91.

<sup>13</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, VI, 257-61. Here is found one of the many printed copies of this treaty.

<sup>14</sup> Information regarding the Tappan episode, including the adoption of the new standing rule, has been gained from the minutes of the executive sessions of the Senate on April 29, May 8-10, 1844. See *Senate Executive Journal*, VI, 264, 211-73, 768-70.



The New York *Herald* gave rather full publicity to the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which closed the War with Mexico, from the time it was submitted to the Senate on February 22, 1848, until it received the approval of that body, with amendments, on March 10 following.<sup>15</sup> On February 26 the *Herald* gave a fairly accurate summary of the provisions of the treaty, and almost daily thereafter it printed news of the Senate's deliberation in secret session. Immediately after that body had taken final action, two news dispatches were prepared for the *Herald*. One, which carried only a brief statement about the outcome, was printed the following day. The other, published on March 12, spoke of the amendments and gave correct listings of the individual vote on the treaty. "The senate, three quarters of an hour ago," wrote the correspondent, "took a final vote, and then adjourned. The injunction of secrecy has not been removed."<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless one day later this same paper devoted the greater part of its front page to a copy of the English version of the treaty, together with an incomplete summary of the amendments which had been added. It was prefaced by the following statement:

We have withheld for nearly two weeks, from a regard to public interests, the treaty which we publish today. The motive which actuated us no longer exists as the publication of the document can no longer influence the decision of the Senate on its vote.

An editorial in this issue stated that the paper had held a copy of the treaty since it had arrived from Mexico. This date, however, has been established as being at least three weeks earlier.<sup>17</sup>

Again the Senate launched a formal inquiry to determine the source of the news leaks in its executive sessions. A committee appointed on March 23 for that purpose summoned John Nugent, a Washington correspondent of the New York *Herald*, for investigation. When questioned, Nugent admitted that he had secured for publication a copy of the treaty with Mexico, copies of the President's message submitting it to the Senate, and other related documents, which meanwhile had appeared in the *Herald*. The publication he regarded as perfectly proper. The correspondent positively refused to reveal how or whence he secured the documents, but he did state that they had not

<sup>15</sup> It is to be understood in this study that, unless otherwise specified, mention of items in a certain newspaper by no means precludes other publications. In this particular instance, see also the *Daily National Intelligencer*, Feb. 24, 28, and Mar. 3-11, 1848. Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States, 1776*—(Washington, 1931—), V, 252-53. mentions the publicity given this treaty in the press.

<sup>16</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, VII, 337-38, 340; New York *Herald*, Mar. 11, 12, 1848.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 13, 1848; Miller, V, 246.

been obtained either directly or indirectly from a member, an officer, or a printer of the Senate.<sup>18</sup>

Dissatisfied with the results of this examination of Nugent, the Senate on March 29 voted that the sergeant-at-arms bring him before the bar of the chamber for further questioning. When this was done in secret session the following day, Nugent protested in a paper which he later said contained three leading questions, as follows:

First: By what authority of law I was arrested and brought before that bar. Secondly: In what capacity I should consider myself as appearing before that bar. Thirdly: If I was to consider myself as appearing before a judicial tribunal, I asked that I might be furnished with a copy of the rules of the court.<sup>19</sup>

This protest was read and promptly tabled. Nugent then refused to take an oath to the effect that he answer correctly questions relating to the violation of the injunction of secrecy with regard to the treaty with Mexico, but he did swear that any evidence he gave would be "the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth." Numerous questions on the part of the vice-president failed to elicit any information as to how Nugent secured the documents concerned or news of Senate proceedings on the treaty. To such pertinent inquiries the consistent reply was: "I decline to answer that question."<sup>20</sup>

The Senate then tried other tactics. Nugent was placed in the custody of the sergeant-at-arms until such time as he was ready to answer the questions. After refusing again, he was asked whether he had any cause to show why he should not be held in close custody for "the contempt committed against the Senate." He asked for an extension of time to do so, because of a "confinement of two days in the close room of this building and from other causes." This was denied, however, after the sergeant-at-arms testified that the confinement could have occasioned no indisposition; so on March 31 Nugent was remanded to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms until further order of the Senate. This decree held despite an attempt by Nugent's counsel, as reported by R. S. Coxe, counsel for the Senate, to have the circuit court of the District of Columbia call in question the legality of the proceedings in the Senate.<sup>21</sup>

There was no further examination. On April 19, however, a resolution providing that Nugent be held in the jail of the District of Columbia failed in the Senate by the narrow margin of two votes. Nine days later, represented as being "seriously indisposed," he was released from the custody of the

<sup>18</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, VII, 353-57.

<sup>19</sup> *New York Herald*, Apr. 20, 1848.

<sup>20</sup> For this examination of the *Herald* correspondent before the bar, except as otherwise noted, see *Senate Executive Journal*, VII, 358-64.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 364-75; *New York Herald*, Apr. 6, 1848.

sergeant-at-arms.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile the press had lashed out against the Senate for its treatment of the correspondent. This was particularly true of the New York *Herald* itself. In the April 1 issue an editorial denouncing the secret sessions in which the inquiry was held read in part:

The public are curious to know, in order to laugh at them, the proceedings which have produced such a course of action, and violated the rights of a citizen. The whole of the proceedings will, no doubt, be given in a short time, and much sooner than some of their instigators in the Senate, and out of it, in the White House, and out of it, may wish to see.

Five days later this paper devoted the greater part of its front page to a series of excerpts from other newspapers commenting on the case. The majority of them, stated an editorial, agreed that Nugent's treatment was a "violation of public rights and personal liberty, contrary to law and constitution." The editor enlarged upon this opinion, adding that the Senate's action should be denounced by "every freeman, and every independent journal in this country." In a dispatch printed the day he was released, Nugent wrote that the Senate had revived the "Court of Star Chamber" which the people of England over two centuries earlier had "refused to tolerate."

Nothing in the available evidence indicates that the Senate ever determined officially how Nugent secured the documents on the Mexican treaty. According to the contemporary press, however, suspicion pointed definitely in several directions. First, some or all of the papers may have been obtained through the Department of State as a result of the friendship between Nugent and Secretary James Buchanan.<sup>23</sup> Secondly, they may have been obtained from some of the foreign embassies in Washington, since several copies were brought up from Mexico.<sup>24</sup> There were rumors that the White House had permitted copies of the documents to be made and then for political reasons had instigated the Senate inquiry. "We have every reason to believe," said the editor of the New York *Herald*, May 3, 1848, "that there is a big leakage in the White House as in the Senate whenever there is anything worth leaking out." With reference to the manner in which news of the secret proceedings on the treaty was made public, the *Herald* listed some fifteen alleged "leaky" senators, connecting each one specifically with a newspaper and its Washington correspondent.

The President suggested certain designated changes in the Gadsden

<sup>22</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, VII, 394-98, 403-404; New York *Herald*, Apr. 20, 1848.

<sup>23</sup> See excerpts from the *Buffalo Express*, the *Charleston Carrier*, and the *Richmond Whig*, printed in the New York *Herald*, Apr. 6, 1848. Buchanan, however, vehemently denied that his department had anything to do with it, and he offered on his own part and that of all his clerks to submit to examination before the Senate committee. *Senate Executive Journal*, VII, 357.

<sup>24</sup> New York *Herald*, Apr. 1, 1848.

Treaty with Mexico when he submitted it to the Senate on February 10, 1854. Five days later the New York *Daily Times* published copies of both the treaty and the President's message, which varied from the originals only in such matters as capitalization, punctuation, and the arrangement of paragraphs.<sup>25</sup> One of the headline captions read: "Documents Complete as sent to the Senate Confidentially." Two days later a news item in the same paper stated that the publication of the treaty caused some commotion in Washington because of the general belief that it was impossible to obtain a copy. Then:

Old fogies say "It's mysterious": young America laughs and says: "How the deuce did the *Times* get hold of it? But it's just like that paper—it's got into the way of getting hold of everything important, and there is no use of trying to prevent it."

The Senate was quick to take action. After considering one proposal to appoint the usual examining committee and another to ban the practice of printing copies of treaties with foreign governments, the Senate agreed to investigate itself. On February 24 the vice-president was directed to send each senator a note inquiring whether he had any information which would help determine how a copy of the Gadsden Treaty was disclosed and published in the public journals. Incidentally, these same inquiries were to carry similar requests regarding the disclosure of a pending treaty with Great Britain and publicity given the proceedings on the nomination of George N. Sanders, who but recently had been rejected as consul to London.<sup>26</sup> News of this action, though taken in executive session, soon came to the attention of the New York *Daily Times* correspondent, who somewhat sarcastically gave it his approval when he wrote that it was not to be supposed that any member of the press obtained a copy of the Gadsden Treaty "except upon the pledge that he would not disclose the name of the party furnishing it."<sup>27</sup> He would not have limited this, of course, to the Mexican treaty or the executive proceedings on any one item of business.

Replies to the inquiry of the vice-president were returned in due time. All were negative. They were referred to the committee on foreign relations, which was empowered to examine on oath officers and printers of the Senate

<sup>25</sup> The President's message is found in *Senate Executive Journal*, IX, 238-39. The original text of the treaty may be reconstructed by comparing the resolution of advice and consent to ratification, including Senate amendments, in *ibid.*, IX, 311-15, with the ratified copy as given in Miller, VI, 293-302.

<sup>26</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, IX, 246-47, 249. The rejection of Sanders' nomination had occurred on February 14. *Ibid.*, IX, 242. The writer has no other information regarding this case or that of the treaty with Great Britain.

<sup>27</sup> Mar. 10, 1854.

and any other persons in Washington whom they might see fit to question.<sup>28</sup> Judged by the available record, nothing further came of the matter. Fairly accurate if sketchy accounts of the Senate action on the Gadsden Treaty, however, were published in the press until final disposition was made of it the following month.

A striking resemblance to the Nugent affair appears in the developments in the next case to be studied here—the well-known Treaty of Washington, signed with Great Britain on May 8, 1871, with a view to providing for a settlement of the *Alabama* affair and other diplomatic problems between the two countries. Press reports indicate that at the request of the White House and the Department of State, with the connivance of some senators, the treaty was given considerable publicity in the form of digests and analyses before it was submitted to the Senate on May 10.<sup>29</sup> Then on the next day the entire text was printed in the *New York Tribune*, and on the following day in the *New York Herald*. On May 13 President Grant sent to the Senate copies of correspondence relating to the negotiation of the treaty, and these too showed up in public print within less than a week.<sup>30</sup> Brief but informative accounts of Senate action appeared freely in the press during the two weeks the treaty was under consideration. Written apparently a few minutes after the vote was taken, for instance, a Washington news dispatch informed readers of the *New York Herald* that the Senate had approved the treaty without amendments, and added: "The injunction of secrecy has not yet been removed from the vote in detail."<sup>31</sup>

Meanwhile the Senate had initiated another investigation to determine how the treaty text, the correspondence submitted by the President, and the proceedings in secret session had been made public.<sup>32</sup> To a meeting on the evening of May 15 the investigating committee of five members summoned one of the clerks of the Senate; a representative of the Western Union Telegraph Company; Bancroft Davis, assistant secretary of state; and numerous newspaper correspondents, including Z. L. White, chief of the Washington bureau of the *New York Tribune*, and his assistant H. J. Ramsdell, also connected with the *Cincinnati Commercial*. White and Ramsdell, who bore the brunt of the questioning, testified freely as to the facts regarding the publication of the Treaty of Washington and exonerated members and officers of the Senate regarding any alleged violation of their trusts, but they refused

<sup>28</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, IX, 271-73.

<sup>29</sup> See *New York Weekly Tribune*, May 10, 1871; *New York Herald*, May 10, 11, 1871; *Senate Executive Journal*, XVIII, 84.

<sup>30</sup> See *New York Herald*, May 19, 1871; *Senate Executive Journal*, XVIII, 248, 255.

<sup>31</sup> May 25, 1871. <sup>32</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, XVIII, 85, 251, 255.

to give any further information. In this they were supported by their colleagues. The *Tribune* representatives were told frankly that a continued refusal to tell from whom or how they secured a copy of the treaty would necessitate their being reported to the Senate in contempt. Yet they remained adamant.<sup>33</sup>

The committee also was firm, recommending on the following day that White and Ramsdell be arrested by the sergeant-at-arms and brought before the bar of the Senate. This produced a long and somewhat bitter debate in which Senator Roscoe Conkling was reported to have said that if after such a procedure the two correspondents still refused to answer pertinent questions relating to the inquiry they should be "imprisoned and fed on bread and water until they did so." Such treatment, he thought, would "teach all reporters to observe 'rules of decency' towards the Senate." Other members felt that the investigation should not be carried further. The committee recommendations, however, were approved by a substantial majority. The injunction of secrecy was removed from the report, and subsequent proceedings on this case were held in open sessions.<sup>34</sup>

After he had appeared in the Senate chamber, White was allowed to prepare and read a statement explaining his refusal to tell how he secured a copy of the treaty. To have done so, he was reported to have said,

would have been a violation of his professional honor. His profession was to collect news and transmit it by telegraph to the journal he represented. It had been the uniform practice to regard as confidential the sources of news, and always implied the promise of secrecy, such as a lawyer makes to client, a doctor to his patient, a clergyman to a dying man. If he violated it he believed he would make himself infamous in the eyes of his professional associates.

The document, this correspondent asserted further, was printed by the Department of State. He did not secure a copy from any senator, any officer of the Senate, or, so far as he knew, any employee of that body.<sup>35</sup> After further questioning by the vice-president had failed utterly to elicit the desired information, the Senate on May 18 committed White and Ramsdell (whose case throughout apparently had been regarded as identical with that of his chief) into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms, who provided accommodations for the two men in the room of the Senate committee on the Pacific Railroad.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., special sess., May 16, 1871, pp. 847-49, 894-96; *New York Weekly Tribune*, May 17, 1871.

<sup>34</sup> Statements regarding this debate were taken from the *New York Weekly Tribune*, May 17, 1871. See also *Senate Executive Journal*, XVIII, 87-89; *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., special sess., pp. 847-49.

<sup>35</sup> *New York Weekly Tribune*, May 24, 1871.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*; see also *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., special sess., May 18, 1871, pp. 863-68.

Evidently the two correspondents were not questioned again. A few days later, however, Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*, appeared before the investigating committee. He said that he had given general instructions that a copy of the treaty be secured. Yet this was before it passed into the hands of the Senate. Reid did not know whence the document had been obtained, unless from a senator or an officer of the Senate.<sup>37</sup> Here the matter really rested, except for continued prolonged discussions in the Senate. It was not until May 27, the last day of that special session of the Senate, that White and Ramsdell were ordered discharged, effective "immediately upon adjournment."<sup>38</sup>

The events now to be related in this survey illustrate the use of different, though still unsuccessful, tactics in an effort to preserve the injunction of secrecy regarding treaties. On December 10, 1884, President Arthur, in a rather lengthy message, submitted to the Senate a treaty with Nicaragua providing for the construction of an interoceanic canal across the territory of that Central American republic.<sup>39</sup> According to the *New York Tribune*, the chairman of the committee on foreign relations, to which this treaty automatically was referred, took particular pains in advance to prevent premature publication. Only a few copies of the document were printed for the use of the Senate. None of them was immediately available to the whole body. Each member of the committee, in fact, was required to sign a receipt before obtaining one.<sup>40</sup> This may have occasioned some delay and inconvenience on the part of Washington correspondents, but nothing more; for on December 18 the *Tribune* published the full text of the treaty, accompanied by excerpts from the President's letter of submission supplemented with abstracts of the parts omitted. There followed, incidentally, various news stories of subsequent action by the Senate, as, for example, the one announcing the vote of rejection shortly after it had been taken.<sup>41</sup>

On the day the treaty was published, the Senate considered a resolution proposing the appointment of the usual investigating committee. This served to remind that body, however, of its failure to obtain any satisfactory results a few years earlier in the White-Ramsdell case, and the fear was expressed that once more the dignity of the Senate might be impaired. The proposal did not pass.<sup>42</sup> As though to offset any detrimental effects of the apparent

<sup>37</sup> *New York Weekly Tribune*, May 31, 1871.

<sup>38</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., special sess., May 27, 1871, p. 929.

<sup>39</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, XXIV, 377-80. <sup>40</sup> Dec. 19, 1884.

<sup>41</sup> Jan. 30, 1885. This may be checked in the *Senate Executive Journal*, XXIV, 452-53.

<sup>42</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, XXIV, 396-97; *New York Tribune*, Dec. 19, 1884. The resolution included also a proposal to investigate the publication in the *New York Herald*, same date, of a copy of a treaty with the Dominican Republic.



shift in policy, the chairman of the committee on foreign relations, as reported in the *Tribune*, further restricted the availability of printed copies of treaties. Until the committee had made a report in any given case even its members were denied access to a copy except during a committee meeting. Upon adjournment each document was taken up and locked in the chairman's safe. "This little school-boy trick," wrote the correspondent, "up to the moment has had the effect of stopping 'leaks.'" How long it would continue to do so, he added, was another question.

At best, of course, this meant delay and not prevention. A few months later, on March 20, the same newspaper published accurate copies of four treaties negotiated in the late autumn of 1884, one each with Belgium, Egypt, Hawaii, and Mexico, as well as the messages by which they were submitted to the Senate. The reporter specifically pointed out that the injunction of secrecy had not been removed from any of the treaties or from the President's messages which, he explained, were marked "confidential." A high-water mark of ridicule and contempt for the Senate rules of secrecy, however, had been set some weeks earlier. Just before it had voted to reject the Nicaragua treaty mentioned above, the Senate adopted a resolution removing the injunction of secrecy from the President's messages submitting the treaty of 1846 with New Granada, the Hise Treaty of 1850, and the well-known Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, together with the Senate's vote on the matter.<sup>43</sup> Two days later the New York *Tribune* printed a copy of this resolution with a comment to the effect that those "who think the Senate to be a body void of humor must needs revise their opinion." The passage of the resolution, it continued,

seems a reflection almost upon the enterprise of newspaper correspondents of that day. Some curiosity is expressed to know who offered it. At this rate of proceeding the injunction of secrecy upon the Nicaragua Treaty will not be removed until 1923.<sup>44</sup>

It was only a short time later when in 1888 the Senate modified its rules to permit the transaction of executive business without resorting to the injunction of secrecy and first considered a treaty in open session. Since it was followed but rarely during the next forty years, this proposed change in procedure caused no appreciable decrease in the amount of publicity given to secret sessions or any diminution in the efforts on the part of the Senate to prevent such news leaks. The continuation of the difficulties is well illustrated by the final two incidents to be discussed in this chronological survey. The first involved the discharge of the principal executive clerk of the Senate,

<sup>43</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, XXIV, 449.

<sup>44</sup> Jan. 31, 1885.

James Rankin Young, for alleged complicity in the dissemination of information about proceedings held behind closed doors. Although this writer has been unable to find any official statement bearing directly on the episode, there is available from other sources sufficient evidence to give the fairly complete account which follows.

On April 18, 1892, the vice-president laid before the Senate a letter from Young, designated as the "late" executive clerk, requesting "an investigation into his conduct as such officer." Tabled immediately, the letter was published in the *New York Tribune* on the following day, together with one from Henry Watterson, the well-known publicist, to the vice-president, written in behalf of the former executive clerk. Omitting pointed reference to the specific nature of the charges brought against Young, each pleaded for a just and impartial inquiry into his conduct in the office from which he had been discharged. The embittered man insisted that he could acquit himself in a satisfactory manner if any who had pursued him in secret should waive the constitutional privilege of immunity for words spoken in debate and avow in public a responsibility for charges made in two afternoons of angry discussion.

In his letter mentioned above, Young referred to one he had written to Senator Don Cameron, a fellow Pennsylvanian, on March 27, which was published in the *Tribune*. From this and from news items in the same paper we learn that the committee on foreign relations suspected Young of being implicated in disseminating news from the secret sessions of the Senate engaged in discussing the Convention relating to Fur Seals and the Bering Sea of February 29, 1892. Some of the members sponsored a resolution declaring his office vacant. Proponents of the proposal convinced Senator Cameron, under protest, that there was sufficient strength to pass the resolution and suggested that he advise Young to resign in advance. This Cameron did. In his letter Young wrote that he had "done nothing requiring either explanation or defense." Stating that he would be willing to resign only after the truth was known, he said it was his duty to demand an investigation by the Senate.<sup>45</sup> In this, as we know, he was never successful.

Entries in the *Senate Executive Journal* show that at various times during March, 1892, the Senate did consider the Bering Sea treaty. It is true also that news of much that occurred in these secret sessions appeared currently in the press.<sup>46</sup> The extent to which Young was involved in these disclosures, if he

<sup>45</sup> Young to Cameron, Mar. 27, 1892, *New York Tribune*, Apr. 13, 1892. See also *ibid.*, Mar. 26, 28, 1892.

<sup>46</sup> See particularly *ibid.*, Mar. 10, 11, 23-26, 29, 30, 1892; and *Washington Post*, Mar. 11, 1892.

was involved at all, is another question. His denials in that respect were supported wholeheartedly by newspapermen. Henry Watterson vouched for his integrity in the above-mentioned letter. Several Washington dispatches to the New York *Tribune* not only affirmed his innocence, as well as that of Senate employees generally in such matters, but charged senators themselves with the responsibility for leakage from their secret sessions.<sup>47</sup> Probably the strongest support Young received in that respect is to be found in an article published over the signature of "H. V. B.," a veteran correspondent, in the *Washington Post*, April 19, 1892. The writer severely criticized the Senate for discharging its executive clerk, stating that members of that body knew well where correspondents year after year got news of the proceedings in secret sessions. It was from senators themselves. He knew from personal experiences without number and told of several instances in which members of the Senate took the initiative in furnishing him with such information. From fifty to one hundred other correspondents, he added, could give similar accounts. Two of them had just checked over the members then in the Senate who they knew had violated the injunction of secrecy. They counted twenty-six.

The final incident to be discussed here occurred in January, 1929. Paul Mallon, a United Press correspondent, secured for publication the Senate vote in secret session on the confirmation of Roy O. West as Secretary of the Interior, a feat for which the *Louisville Times* considered him worthy of a Pulitzer Prize.<sup>48</sup> A few months later Mallon did it again, this time in connection with the action taken on the nomination of Irvine L. Lenroot as a member of the United States court of customs appeals. His story appeared in the *Washington Daily News* on May 21.<sup>49</sup> It was largely because of these publications that the Senate in time virtually abolished all secret proceedings. More immediately, however, it set about to determine the source of the disclosures.

On May 22 the committee on rules adopted and presented to the Senate a resolution declaring that the publication of the proceedings in the Lenroot case was a breach of privileges made possible only by violation of the rules on the part of some member or officer of the Senate, which "deserved and should receive severe censure and punishment." The committee also decided

<sup>47</sup> See particularly the issues of Mar. 26, 28, 1892. Mention was made that at one time some thought the resolution which led to Young's dismissal was a "blind" to direct attention from the real suspects.

<sup>48</sup> *Congressional Record*, 71 Cong., 1 sess., Jan. 30, 1929, p. 2447. As will be noted, there is considerable evidence to the effect that the vote given in the press was slightly incorrect.

<sup>49</sup> See *Congressional Record*, 71 Cong., 1 sess., May 21, 1929, p. 1624. The accuracy of the vote given in this case, likewise, was brought into question.

to summon witnesses to a subsequent meeting in an attempt to determine the responsibility for the leakage of that information. It also barred members of the United Press Association from further privileges of the Senate floor, an act which was broadened by the vice-president to include members of all news-gathering organizations.<sup>50</sup>

Formally denying that the committee had any authority to subpoena or to question him, and asserting that the organization which he represented believed that the public welfare could best be served by making all news quickly and easily available when it was in the interest of the public to do so, Mallon, accompanied by his counsel and the president and vice-president of the United Press, appeared for the examination and agreed to answer such inquiries related to the Lenroot publication as would not lead to the betrayal of any professional confidence. Faced with the direct query as to how he secured his data he was reported to have replied:

Senators, I most respectfully decline to reveal any source of that information. As you well know, as all members of this committee know, every day a newspaper man covering the Senate obtains information from confidential sources, and when so obtained he respects that confidence.

Mallon refused to say whether senators were the "confidential sources"; but he did state, in substance, that members of the committee would know about that. Senator G. H. Moses, chairman of the committee on rules, reported to the Senate that the investigation was fruitless.<sup>51</sup> Neither the committee nor the Senate, it seems, took any further action on this specific matter.

Undoubtedly the general attitude toward the publication of news from secret sessions of the Senate as exhibited by Mallon and the United Press was shared by other correspondents and news-gathering agencies. Complaining of the action which barred representatives of the Associated Press from the floor of the Senate, Byron Price, chief of the Washington bureau of that agency (and United States director of censorship in World War II), wrote the vice-president that the reason this group of papers did not carry the Lenroot story was that they believed the information available was very likely inaccurate. His bureau, he added, did not subscribe to any theory that publication of secret proceedings of the Senate, if accurate, was "in any wise

<sup>50</sup> *Congressional Record*, 71 Cong., 1 sess., May 22, 1929, pp. 1726-29. Distinction is to be made between allowing correspondents access to the Senate press gallery and admitting them on the Senate floor. Strictly speaking, the rules did not permit the latter; yet this practice had "grown up as a matter of courtesy." The vice-president's ruling evidenced a desire to be wholly impartial since all news associations were regarded as being equally guilty of publishing news emanating from its secret sessions.

<sup>51</sup> *Congressional Record*, 71 Cong., 1 sess., May 27, 1929, p. 1955; *New York Times*, May 28, 1929.

beyond the legitimate function of a free press."<sup>52</sup> This point of view was not altogether without support in the Senate itself.<sup>53</sup> By this time, moreover, a large majority of the members of that body favored the virtual abolition of the rules of secrecy, which would automatically eliminate the question of professional ethics in such cases on the part of newspaper men.

Thus ends this chronological review of the outstanding cases of news leakage from executive sessions of the United States Senate held in secret. Among the numerous aspects of the question which have been brought out there are at least two which for the purposes of this study merit further consideration, namely, the extent to which senators were guilty of violating their own rules of secrecy and the question of the accuracy of the news items emanating from secret proceedings of the Senate.

Senator Benjamin Tappan, it is to be remembered, admitted complicity in connection with the publication of the Treaty for the Annexation of Texas in 1844. The correspondent, John Nugent, exonerated senators of any charge of furnishing him with documents or information in the case for which he was "tried" by the Senate. So did Z. L. White and H. J. Ramsdell. On the occasion of the dismissal of the chief executive clerk in 1892, however, newspaper men pointedly stated that members of the Senate regularly and frequently gave out news from their secret sessions, while nearly forty years later Paul Mallon by inference made exactly the same accusation. We have seen also that on more than one occasion the Senate voted to examine itself. Again at times the chairman of the Senate committee on foreign relations so mistrusted some of the members of the Senate that he limited the number of copies of a treaty to be printed and specified that they should be made available only to members of the committee when in session.

By way of introducing new evidence we may note more specific opinions of senators themselves. In a speech bitterly denouncing the rules of secrecy and advocating their repeal Senator O. H. Platt on April 13, 1886, said in part that,

more or less of what occurs in executive sessions is disclosed. It is disclosed either by senators or by officers of the Senate, and when I say that I do not mean to cast the slightest suspicion upon officers of the Senate.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Byron Price to Charles Curtis, May 23, 1929, *Congressional Record*, 71 Cong., 1 sess., May 23, 1929, p. 1818.

<sup>53</sup> For positive statements in that respect note the remarks of Robert M. La Follette, jr., on the floor, May 22 and 23, in *Congressional Record*, 71 Cong., 1 sess., May 22, 1929, pp. 1726, 1728; May 23, 1929, pp. 1813, 1814, 1816. See also a radio address by Senator La Follette on June 1, 1929, as printed in *ibid.*, June 3, 1929, pp. 2218-19.

<sup>54</sup> *Congressional Record*, 49 Cong., 1 sess., Apr. 13, 1886, p. 3427.

Generally supporting Platt's position, Senator J. A. Logan two days later agreed that, if it was a question of senators or officers of the Senate being guilty, he also would acquit the latter. Newspapers give news of secret sessions as best they can, said Logan with some sarcasm, and:

They get here and there what they can. They get statements from someone, I do not know from whom, probably from the spittoons, or desks, or cats, if there are any about the Capitol; but nevertheless they get something.<sup>55</sup>

The tenor of the debates in the Senate following the West and Lenroot disclosures and preceding the modification of the rules, seems to indicate the general belief that in any given instance there would always be some members willing to violate their oath of secrecy. Various statements may be offered as evidence in support of this view.

For example, undoubtedly referring to members and not to officers of the Senate, Senator T. H. Caraway on January 30, 1929, said:

There has always been somebody here ever since I have been a member of the Senate who has told the newspapers substantially what occurred in executive sessions. I think we ought to abolish the rule, because I do not want to put a premium on a man who has no honor; I do not want to afford him a market for his wares; and I take it for granted that he got something for his disclosure. For I cannot think of a Benedict Arnold betraying his country without some kind of a reward for doing so.<sup>56</sup>

Senator George W. Norris reminded his colleagues that they had heard senators speak of having disclosed their votes in secret session and say they would do so again whenever they saw fit. Since nothing had been done about it, Norris had concluded that he might reveal some of his own votes. "I have not done it yet," the senator added, "but I am liable to at any time."<sup>57</sup> Senator J. H. Reed, at the time a member of the committee on rules, was loud in his condemnation of the "hypocrite here" who publicly talked of law enforcement and secretly gave out information. Ethically, he said, the action of the newspaper man who published news of secret sessions was not comparable to the senator who violated the rules of the Senate, daring not to disclose his identity. All members of the committee would agree, he added, that the "real culprit in this matter [the Mallon affair] is not the newspaper man but is the Senator who is the source of the information."<sup>58</sup> Shortly before Paul Mallon was called up for questioning, Senator Robert M. La Follette stated

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1886.

<sup>56</sup> See *ibid.*, 70 Cong., 2 sess., Jan. 30, 1929, p. 2448; also *ibid.*, 71 Cong., 1 sess., May 21, 1929, p. 1618; *ibid.*, June 18, 1929, p. 3052.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, May 21, 1929, pp. 1620, 1622.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, May 21, 1929, p. 1618; May 23, 1929, p. 1817.

that prior to "grilling" representatives of the press the honorable thing for the Senate to do would be to investigate its own membership and employees. That, he observed, would be a "long investigation."<sup>59</sup>

It is not unreasonable to suppose that throughout the period under review the majority of individuals who served as members of the United States Senate scrupulously respected their obligation to observe the rules of secrecy. Unfortunately, however, the effectiveness of the rules could be maintained only by a unanimous adherence thereto. Evidence shows that there was always one or more senators who were willing to impart information about secret proceedings. Just when and under what circumstances a member would do so are questions which cannot be answered satisfactorily, though one may reasonably assume that he would do so when the matter was one which created wide public interest, especially in his own constituency, and one on which he opposed favorable action. By publicizing the issue he may have hoped to arouse general sentiment against it. On this point one is inclined to agree with the attitude expressed by H. L. Nelson, an editor of *Harper's Weekly*, who, when writing Secretary of State Richard Olney regarding Senate action on the general arbitration treaty of January 11, 1897, with Great Britain said:

I take anything that the daily papers say on this subject with a grain of salt, because I know that the information of executive sessions comes from the men who are opposed to the treaty.

I do not know from any direct source where Gorman [Senator A. P. Gorman] stands, but I do know that Gorman is the chief source of the Sun's [New York Sun] news, and therefore I presume that he is really hostile to the treaty, although it may be that like Lodge [Senator H. C. Lodge], he dare not openly take the hostile attitude.<sup>60</sup>

The number of cases here studied in detail is very small when compared to the number of news leaks which occurred.<sup>61</sup> The official records of the secret sessions of the Senate, moreover, do not include accounts of the debates and discussions which were held. Thus it is fitting that these findings be supplemented by the testimony of contemporaries who were in a position to judge

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1816, 1814.

<sup>60</sup> Nelson to Olney, Feb. 10, 1897, Olney Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>61</sup> In numerous cases while doing the research necessary for the preparation of this paper the writer checked for accuracy current press reports on secret sessions of the Senate by the simple process of comparing them with the official record from which the injunction of secrecy had been removed. Results varied. For the most part the news accounts were essentially correct. Where documents, such as copies of treaties, were concerned, certain discrepancies in matters of spelling, capitalization, punctuation, or paragraphing were common. Votes were not always given with mathematical exactness nor were the individual listings always free of errors. Finally, in a few instances, the true picture was distorted by the omission of some of the facts.



the facts. On this point O. O. Stealy, the veteran news correspondent, wrote in 1906:

But while the executive sessions of the Senate are somewhat of a farce in so far as absolute secrecy is concerned, they do prevent the proceedings being reported with that accuracy which would otherwise be the case if the sessions were open. There is always some doubt attached to the reliability of information, which must pass through two or more persons and is based merely on the memory of what was said and done. Moreover, it is necessarily always of an unauthorized and unofficial character.<sup>62</sup>

In substantiation of Stealy's observations, statements of senators might be cited in large numbers, but a few will suffice. During the critical days of the Civil War Senator Lyman Trumbull said that accounts of practically all important discussions in secret session were published "the next day to the world—published with exaggeration, published with misrepresentations, placing members in a false light."<sup>63</sup> Some thirty-odd years later Senator O. H. Platt spoke of such publications as being mixed with the "imagination of reporters and the untruthfulness which accompanies the reports."<sup>64</sup> Of the various complaints registered during the debates relative to the rules of secrecy during 1929 that of Senator E. D. Smith was probably the most outspoken; he expressed amazement to hear one of his colleagues "almost admit" that news stories emanating from secret sessions were true, and he added:

Suppose some newspaper goes out and publishes what it alleges to be what transpired in the Senate. It is only an allegation. It is not official. The public has no right to take it as a fact; and anyone of our Members who gives out what is said to have occurred in secret sessions will have his statement discounted by the public. So even though you say it did leak out, there is no way in which it can be proved that the report is correct; and I state here, after 20 years of experience, that I have never seen one that was exactly correct.<sup>65</sup>

Although a majority of the senators may well have agreed that news leaks from executive sessions seldom, if ever, were absolutely accurate as to details, few then or earlier would have accepted Smith's optimistic view that the American public was so incredulous in that respect. Experience, at least, pointed to the contrary. The fact that people did believe misrepresentations about members was calculated to place one in a position whereby, as an arch-opponent of secrecy in Senate sessions facetiously said, if "obliged to be a Senator, he would be a legitimate object of sympathy."<sup>66</sup> This circumstance which more than once formed the subject for bitter complaint, notably

<sup>62</sup> Stealy, p. 7.

<sup>63</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., Jan. 27, 1862, p. 492.

<sup>64</sup> *Congressional Record*, 49 Cong., 1 sess., Apr. 13, 1886, p. 3427.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 71 Cong., 1 sess., June 18, 1929, p. 3039.

<sup>66</sup> Eaton, p. 78.

by Platt in 1886 and Norris in 1929,<sup>67</sup> may be stated simply. An inaccurate news story might list a senator as voting one way when actually he was on the other side, might put words in his mouth which he did not utter, and might otherwise misrepresent his position on a controversial matter. Before his constituency such a report might make him appear inconsistent, not to say ridiculous, in view of previous well-known commitments on matters of policies and principles. Helpless, he would be unable to defend himself; for to correct the errors publicly would be tantamount to revealing information of proceedings held behind closed doors and thus constitute a violation of his oath to preserve the injunction of secrecy. Therefore, in order to keep his record clear he must endure the humiliation in silence. There is small wonder that this contingency was a tremendous factor in causing the Senate to modify its rules of secrecy when dealing with executive business.

<sup>67</sup> *Congressional Record*, 49 Cong., 1 sess., Apr. 13, 1886, p. 3427; and *ibid.*, 71 Cong., 1 sess., May 21, 1929, p. 1622. See also Stealy, p. 8, for an expression of opinion by Senator John T. Morgan, veteran senator from Alabama.

# Contraband Trade under the Asiento, 1730-1739

GEORGE H. NELSON\*

ILLICIT trade between Great Britain and Spanish America—as perfected from 1730 to 1739 by a small group of South Sea Company officials under the Asiento Treaty of 1713—must be considered as a major cause of the War of Jenkins' Ear because it threatened to destroy the entire commercial framework of the Spanish Empire.<sup>1</sup>

Clandestine commerce on a large scale was the inevitable result of the treaty since Spain, faced by the commercially minded British at the close of the War of the Spanish Succession, was forced in that instrument to yield concessions greater than any appearing in any previous slaving contract.<sup>2</sup> These advantages, put into the hands of the South Sea Company by the British government, were extracted from Spain, not because of anticipated profits from Negro sales but because of the desire to create a system whereby the legal business in Negroes could be used as a screen behind which to import forbidden commodities into the Spanish colonies.<sup>3</sup>

As a result, large amounts of contraband had been smuggled into Spanish America before 1728. By that time, however, the Spanish government had secured positive proof of this contraband trading from Dr. Burnet and Mathew Plowes, two faithless servants of the company.<sup>4</sup> Such complete in-

\*The author is professor of history in Central Michigan College of Education, Mount Pleasant, Michigan.

<sup>1</sup>In addition to the books and articles cited in the footnotes of this article, some other works concerning the South Sea Company, the Asiento, and contraband trade are: Vera Lee Brown, "Contraband Trade: A Factor in the Decline of Spain's Empire in America," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VIII (1928), 178-89; John T. Lanning, *The Diplomatic History of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1936); Harold W. V. Temperley, "The Causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739," *Royal Historical Society, Transactions*, 3d series, III (1909), 197-236; Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763* (Oxford, 1936); Elizabeth Donnan, "The Early Days of the South Sea Company, 1711-1718," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, II (1930), 419-50, and *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (Washington, 1931); Leila E. M. Batcheler, "The South Sea Company and the Asiento," an unpublished thesis in the University of London (1924).

<sup>2</sup>Georges Scelle, *Histoire politique de la traité négrière aux Indes de Castille* (Paris, 1906), II, 541. Scelle says of the British Asiento, "Le projet est infiniment plus complet, plus parfait et plus considérable que celui de 1707, ou que l'assiento de la compagnie française."

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 531.

<sup>4</sup>Vera Lee Brown, "The South Sea Company and Contraband Trade," *American Historical Review*, XXXI (July, 1926), 663. The company suspected Burnet and Plowes of duplicity and had positive proof of it by 1732. Consequently, it realized that it would have to adopt other measures in order to carry on its clandestine commerce successfully. British Museum Additional MSS, photostats in the Library of Congress, 25505, ff. 1, 2; hereafter cited as Add. MSS.

formation as they furnished made it possible for Spain to combat this illegal traffic because its extent and profitableness was now known to the Spanish government. In order to prevent such violations, Philip V sent the ever watchful Sir Thomas Geraldino as his representative to sit on the board of directors of the South Sea Company. Not to be outdone, the board on May 29-June 9, 1730, placed the sub and deputy governors<sup>6</sup> in charge of all matters of importance,<sup>6</sup> a step designed to conceal the amount and organization of the contraband trade to Spanish America. The effect was to center the administration of the secret trade to America in the hands of these two officers, aided and abetted by a select clique chosen from the other directors. These men performed secretly all duties in connection with the clandestine traffic while the legal business was conducted openly by the board of directors for the satisfaction of the Spanish director and the interested public.

Under the guidance of this small group of men, determined to make fortunes for themselves rather than for the general stockholders of the South Sea Company,<sup>7</sup> there grew a business in smuggled articles which threatened to destroy the very foundations of Spain's commerce with its colonies. Here was the direction which selected agents and factors, bases of operation in English territory, and stations in the Spanish colonies as provided for by the Asiento Treaty and other agreements with Spain. Provision was also made for the procurement of cargoes, the rental of ships, and the disposal of goods brought back from America. Arrangements were made for the judicious placement of "presents" and for the general oversight of the business in so far as it could be handled from London.

It was expected that the agents and factors selected would operate largely upon their own responsibility. Consequently, they took great care in communicating with London as a large volume of correspondence would have increased the danger of interception by Spanish spies. At times, to insure safe delivery, messages from America were carried by British men-of-war. Frequently, two letters were written on the same subject, one to the board of

<sup>6</sup> The subgovernors during this period were: Sir John Eyles, 1721-33, Sir Richard Hopkins, 1733-36, and Peter Burrell, 1736-39. John Hanbury in this period was deputy governor until 1733 and was succeeded by John Bristow until 1739.

<sup>6</sup> "Governor's Book of Sir John Eyles, 1730," Shelburne MSS, photostats in the Clements Library, XLIII, 385; hereafter cited as Shelburne MSS. For an article which first called attention to Volumes XLIII and XLIV of the Shelburne MSS (originals in the Clements Library) and pointed the way to their true significance, see Arthur S. Aiton, "The Asiento Treaty as Reflected in the Papers of Lord Shelburne," *Hispanic American Hist. Rev.*, VIII (1928), 167-77.

<sup>7</sup> The desire of the directors to keep the Asiento, against the wishes of the general court of the South Sea Company, when Spain offered a cash settlement for its surrender, seems to have been based upon the actual profits of the inner ring. For a different interpretation, and an account of the attempts made from 1732 to 1735 to terminate the Asiento, see Jean McLachlan, *Trade and Peace with Old Spain, 1667-1750* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 122-25.

directors to allay the suspicion of the Spanish representative and the other, which concerned the illicit traffic and the true state of affairs, to the sub and deputy governors.<sup>8</sup> Now and then, intelligence was exchanged when trusted officials were sent to America and subsequently returned to England.<sup>9</sup>

In America, three stations were set up as organizing centers for the distribution of Negroes and other goods to South Sea Company factories within Spanish territory. The most important was Jamaica, which, because of its favorable location, had connections with most of Spanish America from Florida to Chile. Through Barbados, Caracas and its vicinity was supplied. From Buenos Aires, distant Peru and Chile were at times provided with Negroes and British materials.

In addition, factors and agents were stationed at such strategic points in the Spanish colonies as Buenos Aires, Arequipa, Panama, Porto Bello, Cartagena, Santiago de Cuba, Vera Cruz, Campeche, Mexico City, Lima, Potosí, and Santiago de Chile. Ostensibly, these men were engaged only in the sale of Negroes. In reality, their main purpose was to dispose of British goods. The slave trade was only a blind which served to give the appearance of legality to the system.

Because of its proximity to many of the most populous ports in the Spanish colonies, Jamaica was the most important center for the origin of contraband goods. There the South Sea Company agents had general oversight of this as well as the Negro trade proceeding from this island. They rented ships and recommended masters, received consignments of goods and provisions from England and the British mainland colonies, secured Negroes upon demand, and made up cargoes on the basis of information sent to them from the company factors and agents resident in Spanish territory. In addition, they often supervised the remittances of money and consignments of "fruits of the country" sent through Jamaica en route to London. At times, they made contracts with Spanish merchants, who had been able to slip away to Jamaica,<sup>10</sup> although such agreements were usually consummated by the factors and agents in the Spanish colonies.<sup>11</sup>

So secret were these negotiations and arrangements that contracts often

<sup>8</sup> John Merewether and Edward Manning to Peter Burrell and John Bristow, Kingston, Jamaica, Feb. 11-22, 1736-37, Shelburne MSS, XLIV, 863. Dates are given according to the old style and new style calendars, if the letters were written from British territory.

<sup>9</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, Sept. 6-17, 1736, *ibid.*, XLIV, 875.

<sup>10</sup> Some of the Spanish merchants visiting Jamaica professed to having been shipwrecked to avoid suspicion. Merewether and Manning to Burrell, Jamaica, Jan. 6-17, 1736-37, *ibid.*, XLIV, 868-69.

<sup>11</sup> An example of such a contract was that made by Ord and Gray, the factors at Cartagena, to supply that city with flour. Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, Dec. 7-18, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 804. Also see Manuel de Cosuelo and Juan Bautista de Belaunzaran to Burrell, Vera Cruz, Mar. 24, 1738, *ibid.*, XLIV, 259.

were not made with the buyer directly but rather with his broker.<sup>12</sup> According to James Houstoun, the surgeon at Cartagena, business was commonly done through the Jesuits, whom he termed "the greatest traders in Spanish America."<sup>13</sup> At times, business deals were arranged in Old Spain.<sup>14</sup>

Apparently the most successful method of paving the way for the introduction of illicit wares into the Spanish colonies was through a well-calculated and widespread system of bribery, extending from some of the highest officials in Spain to the common soldiers.<sup>15</sup> In Madrid, for instance, Benjamin Keene, the British minister and agent for the South Sea Company, was supposed to have gained the support of high Spanish ministers. Patiño, the secretary of state for marine and Indies, was described for Keene by Sir John Eyles as a man "of an exact Honnr." At the same time, Eyles outlined a plan by which Keene was to pay Patiño and still keep suspicion from being directed at himself and the company.<sup>16</sup> Also, Montijo, the president of the Council of the Indies, was spoken of as having aided the cause in a way that was very satisfying to both parties.<sup>17</sup> According to Keene, he was well able to do so for he had "gotten the whole management of the Indies and its dependency entirely into his Hands" and in that capacity presided "as protector of the company." The British minister urged Burrell to keep Montijo "content," especially when it could be done with "the King of Spain's money."<sup>18</sup> Keene also cautioned Burrell to "ask nothing but what is reasonable" as this was what he (Keene) had "assured him [Montijo] he will always experience from us."<sup>19</sup>

This system of bribery, however, did not always prove to be completely satisfactory as the honest or disappointed Spanish officials upset it in several ports.<sup>20</sup> Philip V attempted to cope with the problem in Europe by instructing his commissaries, provided for by the Treaty of Seville, to come to an effective understanding on this score with the British. The latter, however, refused to deal with the matter frankly.<sup>21</sup> Also, Sir Thomas Geraldino<sup>22</sup> was very energetic about attempting to eradicate bribery.<sup>23</sup> In spite of these efforts,

<sup>12</sup> James Houstoun, *Memoirs* (London, 1753), p. 249.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198. <sup>14</sup> [Henry Hutchinson] to Burrell, Shelburne MSS, XLIV, 20-21.

<sup>15</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica [Mar. 24?], 1736-37, *ibid.*, XLIV, 899-900.

<sup>16</sup> Sir John Eyles to Benjamin Keene [London], April 29-May 10, 1731, *ibid.*, XLIII, 394-95.

<sup>17</sup> B[enjamin] Keene to P[eter] Burrell, Madrid, June 17, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 179-80.

<sup>18</sup> This undoubtedly indicates that the king of Spain was not paid his full share of the Asiento profits on the basis of the treaty. See note 73 below.

<sup>19</sup> Keene to Burrell[1], Madrid, Dec. 13, 1737, Shelburne MSS, XLIV, 167-69.

<sup>20</sup> Merewether to [Burrell], Jamaica, Oct. 21-Nov. 1, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 814.

<sup>21</sup> Copy of Instruc<sup>ts</sup> given to Mr. R— S—, London, Feb. 12-23, 1730, *ibid.*, XLIII, 395-96.

<sup>22</sup> Representative of Philip V on the board of directors until midyear of 1737 when he was made minister plenipotentiary to the British court. Keene to [Burrell], Madrid, July 29, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 178.

<sup>23</sup> Merewether to [Burrell], Jamaica, Oct. 21-Nov. 1, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 814.

little was accomplished until the Asiento system was destroyed as a result of the War of Jenkins' Ear.

Coupled with this system of bribery, the Negro traffic itself served as a most convenient blind for the transportation of illegal goods, for only South Sea Company vessels carrying Negroes, and no others, had a right given by the Asiento to be in Spanish American sea lanes. Such ships, when accosted, exhibited their slaves as proof of their right to be in Spanish ports and coastal waters. Often the amount of goods and provisions was greatly out of proportion to the needs of the Negroes aboard, as when the sloop *Benjamin* left Jamaica with thirty slaves and £12,000 in illicit wares.<sup>24</sup> On occasion, sailors were disguised as Negroes at Porto Bello and Havana.<sup>25</sup> This served a double purpose as it enabled the ship to dock with a supposed cargo of Negroes and, when once ashore and unsuspected, it furnished the labor for unloading contraband at the company factory. Some successful voyages were completed although no Negroes were carried, but that method was uncommon, especially at the large ports or along those sections of the coast patrolled carefully by *guarda costas*.<sup>26</sup>

Seemingly, every opportunity was used for the introduction of clandestine goods. On one instance when the *vomito prieto*, a type of yellow fever, became prevalent in Vera Cruz and Mexico City,<sup>27</sup> the government of New Spain issued a pass to a Jamaica doctor, John Ingleby, granting entry at Vera Cruz. When the vessel carrying Dr. Ingleby left, it had aboard eighteen Negroes and contraband.<sup>28</sup>

A clever device was employed at Cartagena where the interventor, or inspector, was unusually watchful.<sup>29</sup> Traders outfitted from the port for a long voyage, met the illicit dealers by appointment on the high seas, and then put back into port under pretense of being disabled. As a search of the cargo was not again considered necessary, the captains were able to unload their goods in port without molestation.<sup>30</sup>

In another instance, company officials purchased two vessels for the

<sup>24</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, Sept. 30-Oct. 11, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 817; Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, June 20-July 1, 1739, *ibid.*, XLIV, 721-22; Merewether and Manning to Burrell, Jamaica, Jan. 6-17, 1739, *ibid.*, XLIV, 868.

<sup>25</sup> Merewether to the sub and deputy governors, Jamaica, Apr. 25-May 6, 1739, *ibid.*, XLIV, 729.

<sup>26</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica [Feb., 1735], *ibid.*, XLIV, 899-901; Merewether and Manning to Burrell, Jamaica, Jan. 6-17, 1736-37, *ibid.*, XLIV, 867.

<sup>27</sup> Merewether to [Burrell], Jamaica, Nov. 9-20, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 807.

<sup>28</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, Jan. 26-Feb. 6, 1737-38, *ibid.*, XLIV, 798; Henry Hutchinson to Burrell, Kingston, Jamaica, Jan. 23-Feb. 3, 1737-38, *ibid.*, XLIV, 865.

<sup>29</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, Sept. 6-17, 1736, *ibid.*, XLIV, 875.

<sup>30</sup> A great deal of illicit goods was imported into Cartagena in this fashion but the method had been discovered by Spanish authorities by January, 1737. Merewether and Manning to Burrell, Jamaica, Jan. 6-17, 1736-37, *ibid.*, XLIV, 868.



Spaniards to help them eliminate private illicit traders. In return, it was expected that a "certain Spanish admiral" would exempt South Sea Company vessels from searching.<sup>31</sup>

In addition, British men-of-war convoyed illicit traders to points on the Spanish coast and furnished protection while business was transacted.<sup>32</sup> Trading with the Spanish colonists was even carried on from the decks of warships.<sup>33</sup> Such practices continued until resentment became so intense at Cartagena<sup>34</sup> that the Jamaica agents felt obliged to secure the withdrawal of a man-of-war on at least one occasion.<sup>35</sup> So many complaints were registered against these methods that the agents feared that the entire Asiento might be endangered.

After 1735, when the factory at Caracas began to function under full company control, a fairly steady stream of contraband was shipped from Barbados. Although not as large as the traffic from Jamaica, it was considerable enough to convince the asientists that they could gain control of the Caracas cacao crop in payment for prohibited articles. This traffic also illustrates how private business was carried on by officials of the South Sea Company for their own profit. The claim was made that Edward Lascelles, the agent at Barbados, and William Patten, one of the factors at Caracas, were working entirely in the interest of John Bristow.<sup>36</sup>

At Buenos Aires the problem of the illicit traffic was a difficult one, as the slaves for that market were obtained in Angola and Madagascar. Distances from purchasing depots under British sovereignty were, therefore, great. However, this disadvantage had been partially compensated for by the Asiento Treaty of 1716, which had provided for the storage at Buenos Aires of surplus goods left from the bartering for Negroes in Africa.<sup>37</sup> Such a provision made it very easy to ship contraband goods from England to Buenos Aires via Africa.

Another source of contraband goods and provisions for the factors in the Buenos Aires region was the Portuguese town of Nova Colonia, situated

<sup>31</sup> This proposition was managed by Crow, Ord, and Gray, the factors at Cartagena. Merewether to Burrell, Kingston, Jamaica, June 14-25, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 847. The Jamaica planters protested vigorously over this to the president and council of Jamaica as it interfered with their illicit trade. Merewether to Burrell, Kingston, Jamaica, Sept. 1-12, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 822.

<sup>32</sup> Merewether and Manning to Burrell, Jamaica, Jan. 6-17, 1736-37, *ibid.*, XLIV, 867; Manning to Burrell, Jamaica, Sept. 5-16, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 833.

<sup>33</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, Sept. 30-Oct. 11, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 818-19. Much of this was private trade and some was managed for the benefit of British naval officers.

<sup>34</sup> Copy of Merewether and Manning to Digby Dent, commander in chief of His Majesty's ships on the Jamaica station, Feb. 6-17, 1736-37, *ibid.*, XLIV, 897.

<sup>35</sup> Merewether and Manning to Burrell and Bristow, Kingston, Jamaica, Feb. 11-22, 1736-37, *ibid.*, XLIV, 854-55.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIV, 449.

<sup>37</sup> M. Charles Calvo, *Recueil complet des traités, conventions, capitulations et autres actes diplomatiques de tous les états de l'Amérique Latine* (Paris, 1862-68), II, 183-84.

just across the river. Goods were sent in small boats from Nova Colonia to ships anchored in the river; other boats carried the material from there into the dominions of His Catholic Majesty.<sup>38</sup>

Because the *internacion*, or right to penetrate into the interior, had been granted to the holder of the Asiento, the factors were able to distribute wares to Potosí, Lima, and Chile.<sup>39</sup> However, they were handicapped in these ventures for it was often necessary to take Negroes with them even in the dead of winter. At times, also, the Spanish government, in order to hinder illegal business, insisted that these expeditions be conducted by Spaniards.<sup>40</sup> In spite of such precautions, there was extensive illegal marketing as the company officials could depend upon their system of bribery.

Contributing to this large volume of contraband passing into Spanish America during this period were the two annual ships, the *Prince William* in 1730 and the *Royal Caroline* in 1733. Like the five annual and two license ships which had sailed before 1730, both vessels had obtained permission to deposit their cargoes at Porto Bello or Vera Cruz. Each unloaded large amounts of illegal wares in addition. One stockholder of the company declared that about £200,000 of the return cargo of the *Prince William* was derived from contraband trading.<sup>41</sup> Patiño asserted positively that contraband worth at least £150,000 was transported in the *Royal Caroline*.<sup>42</sup> While not indicating the exact amount of contraband taken into Spanish America through this source, the above figures do point out that considerable quantities were imported illegally.

Profits from annual ships' voyages were large. Sir John Eyles estimated that the profit from the *Prince William* was only about twenty-five per cent.<sup>43</sup> From the foregoing it can easily be imagined what money was gained on other occasions, especially as it was expected that a "well assorted and proper ship's cargo ought to produce a profit of one hundred percent."<sup>44</sup>

Through the above methods the organization furnished flour, pitch, tar, beef, pork, mercury, brass, iron ware of several kinds, woollens, cottons, canvas, mules' shoes, and nails.<sup>45</sup> Shipments were unloaded at Vera Cruz,

<sup>38</sup> H[enry] Y. Faure to Burrell, Buenos Aires, Mar. 12, 1738, Shelburne MSS, XLIV, 367-69.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIV, 367-69.

<sup>40</sup> Copy of Francis Humphreys to Sr. John Eyles, Buenos Aires, Mar. 15, 1731, *ibid.*, XLIV, 433; John Cox to Burrell, Buenos Aires, Mar. 9, 1731, *ibid.*, XLIV, 411.

<sup>41</sup> A Proprietor of the Company, *An Address to the Proprietors of the South Sea Capital* (London, 1732), p. 13. Cleland, the captain, was discharged for illegal marketing at the instigation of Geraldino (Fitzgerald). Add. MSS, 25504, 188.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 25507, f. 22.

<sup>43</sup> Eyles to Keene, London, Sept. 16-27, 1731, Shelburne MSS., XLIII, 397.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIII, 278.

<sup>45</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, Dec. 7-18, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 804; Merewether to Burrell, Kingston, Jamaica, Jan. 25-Feb. 5, 1736-37, *ibid.*, XLIV, 861. One contract called for the supply of 2,000 barrels of flour, 480 barrels of beef and pork, 160 barrels of pitch and tar to the

Havana de Cuba, Santiago de Cuba, Porto Bello, Cartagena, Caracas, and Buenos Aires, and occasional voyages were made to Española, Porto Rico, the South Keys, Rio de Hache, Trujillo,<sup>46</sup> and intermediate points. From these ports of entry the factors distributed materials throughout a vast hinterland stretching from New Spain to distant Chile.

Remittances from the sale of contraband were made in the form of coin, gold, bar silver, quinine, cacao, balsam, sarsaparilla, snuff, leaf tobacco, sugar, cochineal, indigo, dyewoods, hides, tallow, vicuña wool, and drugs.<sup>47</sup> It was necessary, indeed, that the greatest caution be exercised in making these shipments. Some were handled by a colony of Jews in Kingston and others by the company's agents in that place. An idea of the extent of this trade may be gained from the statement of James Houstoun that he knew of £100,000 in money alone sent through these Jews from 1734 to 1737.<sup>48</sup> Merewether and Manning, the agents at Jamaica, were so secretive that they would not mention the consignors of money in letters to the subgovernor. The names of these Spaniards were communicated only to the people acting as consignees.<sup>49</sup>

The volume of illicit trade under the Asiento, so large immediately after the Treaty of Seville, declined very noticeably during the last years of the decade. John Merewether stated that business was so low by 1736 that getting "a hitt in the Illicit Trade" was "like getting a great prize in a lottery."<sup>50</sup> About a year later he claimed that the fulfillment of the contract for supplying the galleons with provisions was the only thing which provided a favorable balance for one period of six months.<sup>51</sup>

This deterioration resulted from the competition of Dutch and English private traders,<sup>52</sup> the growing activities of the *guarda costas*, and the increasingly severe regulations imposed on the Asiento commerce by the Spanish government.<sup>53</sup> As early as December, 1731, Spain closed the company factory at Panama, the gateway of the illicit trade to Peru and some of

galleons, and 400 barrels of flour for the city of Cartagena. Merewether to the sub and deputy governors, Jamaica, Jan. 29-Feb. 9, 1738-39, *ibid.*, XLIV, 795-96. The last five items were included in the cargo of the *Prince William*. No doubt many of them were contraband. *Ibid.*, XLIII, 107-108.

<sup>46</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, July 11-22, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 845; Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, Dec. 7-18, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 803; Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica [Mar. 24?, 1736], *ibid.*, XLIV, 899-900.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIII, 263, 275, 542.

<sup>48</sup> Houstoun to Burrell, Jamaica, July 4-15, 1739, *ibid.*, XLIV, 696-97.

<sup>49</sup> Merewether and Manning to Burrell, Jamaica, Mar. 30-Apr. 10, 1739, *ibid.*, XLIV, 738.

<sup>50</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, Sept. 6-17, 1736, *ibid.*, XLIV, 875-76.

<sup>51</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, Sept. 30-Oct. 11, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 837.

<sup>52</sup> Merewether to Burrell and Bristow, Jamaica, Apr. 4-15, 1739, *ibid.*, XLIV, 731; Manning to Burrell, Jamaica, Feb. 2-13, 1736-37, *ibid.*, XLIV, 859.

<sup>53</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica [Mar. 24?, 1736], *ibid.*, XLIV, 900-901.

that to Chile, and did not allow it to be reopened until April, 1734.<sup>54</sup> Embargoes on the shipment of money and other goods from the chief ports of Spanish America prevailed at one time or another during most of the period.<sup>55</sup> One interventor, to oversee the operation of the Asiento, was appointed by Spain for each port although Article XXVIII of the treaty allowed only two for all of Spanish America.<sup>56</sup> In 1735, no vessel was allowed to enter port without at least fifty Negroes per hundred tons of burden.<sup>57</sup> This regulation was made more severe before long when the requirement was raised to four Negroes for every five tons.<sup>58</sup> In fact, the methods used for preventing the importation of contraband became increasingly harsh during the last years of this period and finally ended in outright confiscation of all property of the South Sea Company in Spanish America in the reprisals of 1739.

Determination of the exact volume and value of illegal importations into the Spanish colonies under the Asiento during these years is impossible because of the very nature of the trade. However, there is evidence in the Shelburne Manuscripts indicating that such shipments in Negro and annual ships totaled at least £5,500,000.

In arriving at such a figure it is necessary to analyze the secret account books of the inner clique and to draw deductions from them. It appears that returns from the company's illicit commerce were often disguised as sales of Negroes. The accounts for 1738 illustrate this well and also furnish an index of the value of this trade for most years of the period. During 1738, sales amounted to 1,169,789 pesos, or about £273,000 with profits of almost one hundred per cent.<sup>59</sup> In order to carry on this trade in 1738, the company used eight ships.<sup>60</sup> In contrast, over thirty were employed in 1727<sup>61</sup> and about

<sup>54</sup> H[enry] Hutchinson to Burrell, Panama, Dec. 4, 1731, *ibid.*, XLIV, 538-40; Add. MSS, 25507, 12.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 25504, 229, 25505, p. 34, f. 18; James Savill to Burrell, B[uenos] Aires, Mar. 25, 1737, Shelburne MSS, XLIV, 423; Manning to Burrell, Jamaica, June 13-24, 1738, *ibid.*, XLIV, 777; Ant[hony] Weltiden to Burrell, Havana, Aug. 27, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 936.

<sup>56</sup> Add. MSS, 25506, f. 149.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 25507, f. 190.

<sup>58</sup> Merewether and Manning to the sub and deputy governors, Jamaica, Nov. 10-21, 1738, Shelburne MSS, XLIV, 750. As a result of these policies and the desire of the inner ring to import contraband in spite of them, 1,850 Negroes in excess of the demand, remained at Christmas, 1737, in the factories at Panama, Cartagena, Vera Cruz, Havana, Santiago de Cuba, and Buenos Aires. "A Calculate of the Value of the Negroes, Debts, and Effects of the South Sea Company at their Several Factories in the West Indies at Xmas, 1737," *ibid.*, XLIII, 423. This is an excellent example of the way the contrabandists disregarded the interests of the general stockholders for their own private gain.

<sup>59</sup> The accounts for 1738 list returns from 5,300 Negroes when not more than half that number were sold at the time. "Sundry Voyages (1738)," *ibid.*, XLIII, 245.

<sup>60</sup> Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, June 10-21, 1738, *ibid.*, XLIV, 785; Thomas Butcher to Burrell, Caracas, Nov. 30, 1738, *ibid.*, XLIV, 609; Add. MSS, 25509, f. 118; 25510, 18.

<sup>61</sup> Adam Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce* (London, 1801), III, 144.

twenty-two in 1732.<sup>62</sup> The trade was also heavy in 1730 and 1731.<sup>63</sup> So it seems that the value of the traffic in 1730 and 1731 was approximately four times as great as it was in 1738, and in 1732 probably three times the value of the traffic in 1738. This indicates that over £1,000,000 sterling was obtained through illegal commerce in each of the years 1730 and 1731. Reasoning similarly, around £750,000 resulted from these importations in 1732. Even during the slack years of 1735 to 1739 an average annual favorable balance of over £500,000 is shown in the subgovernor's books.<sup>64</sup> It appears then that at least £5,000,000 resulted from the illicit traffic in the company's Negro ships during the years from 1730 to 1739.

Other financial returns from the illegal trade under the Asiento arose from the voyages of the *Prince William* and *Royal Caroline*, the only two annual ships permitted during this period. As has been demonstrated, these vessels probably brought home returns of approximately £350,000 from contraband. Adding this amount to the approximate value of the illicit returns from the Negro ships gives a total of about £5,500,000.<sup>65</sup> There was also realized legally from these two annual ships some £620,000.<sup>66</sup> Thus, under the Asiento, there clearly must have been introduced goods and provisions valued by a conservative estimate at £6,000,000. This figure becomes even larger when to it are added unknown amounts of private trade carried on by individuals or groups associated with the South Sea Company and by others who had no connection with that organization.<sup>67</sup>

These figures and estimates, based on the secret books of the inner clique of the South Sea directors, prove clearly that contraband traffic under the Asiento was of such magnitude that it was a real threat to Spanish mercantilism. They also demonstrate that it was in the Negro ships, rather than in

<sup>62</sup> Shelburne MSS, XLIII, 911; Faure to Burrell, Buenos Aires, Mar. 12, 1738, *ibid.*, XLIV, 365-66.

<sup>63</sup> This reasoning is based on the payments of Negro duties which totaled 20,226 pesos more than would have been paid if only 4,800 piezas had been imported a year from January 1, 1730-31 to December 8, 1733. Payments at this time did not include introductions during interruptions due to war. "Payments by the South Sea Company for Dutys on Negroes since the 1st of January, 1730-1, Jno. Reed, Accountant, April 26, 1739," Donnan, *Documents*, II, 467.

<sup>64</sup> "State of the Company's Affairs from 1735 to 1739," Shelburne MSS, XLIII, 33, 41, 45, 65, 73.

<sup>65</sup> Unquestionably the large sums, involved in the illicit trade and not recorded by the British customs, can be explained because there was so much smuggling of goods out of England. In the early 1730's materials could be left out of the printed bills for as little as five shillings. Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, Oct. 21-Nov. 1, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 813. Other shipments came from the British mainland colonies. Merewether to Burrell, Jamaica, Dec. 7-18, 1737, *ibid.*, XLIV, 804. Some must have originated in the West Indies.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIII, 4, 5, 11.

<sup>67</sup> When considering England's commerce here there should be taken into account also approximately £1,500,000 realized during this period from the Negro trade by the South Sea Company. See George H. Nelson, "The Asiento System, 1730-1739," manuscript doctoral dissertation in the University of Michigan (1933), p. 140.

the annual ships, that the major share—at least ninety per cent in this period<sup>68</sup>—of the illicit goods was transported under the Asiento to Spanish America.

The Spanish government and Spanish merchants in Spain and America suffered from this illicit trade. Spanish commerce to the New World was cut from 15,000 tons a year to 4,000 tons or less by 1737.<sup>69</sup> This caused a decline in the profits of Spanish merchants and in the revenues of the king of Spain as the commerce of the squadrons had been reduced to about a fourth of what it had been in earlier years.

The pernicious effect of this contraband trade was also noticeable on the fairs of the Spanish colonies. Dr. Houstoun, who was a surgeon for the company at Cartagena, estimated moderately that sales at the fair in Porto Bello in 1728 had equaled 30,000,000 pesos.<sup>70</sup> In 1731, Sir John Eyles wrote to Keene that this had declined to 12,500,000 pesos. The decline was partly due to an earthquake in Chile, yet Eyles blamed it largely upon the illicit activities of the company.<sup>71</sup> This appears to be sound. Because of the low prices of English goods nothing could be sold at the Spanish fairs until the supply of illicit goods had been exhausted.<sup>72</sup>

From this it can readily be seen that contraband trading under the Asiento was definitely responsible for a decline in Spanish industry and commerce. Many merchants of Spain and the colonies must have been adversely affected by the decline or destruction of their markets. Most certainly, Philip V must have been angered, not only because he did not receive his fair share of the

<sup>68</sup> The differences in the private and public accounts of the five annual and two license ships, which sailed before 1730, show that contraband worth at least £220,000 was transported by these vessels. Shelburne MSS, XLIII, 4, 5, 11. If to the £350,000 realized from the *Royal Caroline* and *Prince William*, is added another £220,000, the total contraband for all the annual and license ships sailing during the entire span of the Asiento amounts to only about £570,000.

<sup>69</sup> José Antonio Saco gives data to prove that this commerce did not shrink to 2,000 tons in 1737 but says that English contraband was responsible for a huge loss to Spanish trade. *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el Nuevo Mundo* (Barcelona, 1879), pp. 305–307. William Robertson says the commerce of the galleons sank to nothing and that the entire squadron was reduced from 15,000 to 2,000 tons. *The History of America* (London, 1780), III, 379–80. See also Kate Hotblack, *Chatham's Colonial Policy* (London, 1917), p. 6. Wilhelm Roscher gives the same figures as Robertson. *The Spanish Colonial System* (New York, 1904), p. 39. Keene estimated in 1737 that the flota and azogues brought 14,000,000 to 15,000,000 pesos in money, 2,000,000 in fruits, and about 2,000,000 that had not paid the duties. Keene to Burrell, Segovia, Sept. 1, 1737, Shelburne MSS, XLIV, 175.

<sup>70</sup> Houstoun, *Memoirs*, p. 164.

<sup>71</sup> Eyles to Keene, London, Sept. 16–27, 1731, Shelburne MSS, XLIII, 397; [Henry Hutchinson] to Peter Burrell, *ibid.*, XLIV, 24–25. Reliance can be placed on the estimates of Houstoun and Eyles as it was their business to know such details. This represented a drop of 17,500,000 pesos or £3,797,000. If even a major fraction of this be attributed to exaggeration, the earthquake in Chile, the private contrabandists, one big sales year followed by a small one, and the higher prices of the Spaniards, it would still leave room for extensive importations under the Asiento.

<sup>72</sup> Houstoun, *Memoirs*, p. 191.



suspected profits arising from the Asiento trade<sup>73</sup> but also because of the non-payment of duties upon smuggled wares.

Also, it is very significant to note that the "fruits of the country"—received from the sales of illicit goods, Negroes, and the legitimate trade of the annual ships<sup>74</sup>—must have been responsible for very considerable losses to the merchants of the Spanish Empire and the Spanish government. These products were transported into London, Hamburg, Amsterdam, and Cadiz in Europe and into several of the ports of the Spanish colonies.<sup>75</sup> In fact, so large were these shipments at times that they brought about a decline in market prices in several instances.<sup>76</sup> As these markets were formerly monopolized largely by Spain,<sup>77</sup> this created a dangerous and severe system of competition not at all to the liking of either the Spanish merchants or government.

Here, then, is the explanation of the animosity which the Spanish government manifested toward the South Sea Company and the Asiento Treaty. Had that arrangement resulted only in the transportation of Negroes and the legitimate fraction of the cargoes of the annual ships, there need not have existed such friction as that which was so common during the entire trading period, especially just before the outbreak of the War of Jenkins' Ear.

When it became apparent, however, that the legitimate business of the company was merely a cloak behind which to hide a system of illegal commerce—one that struck at the very foundations of the Spanish mercantile organization—the government of Spain found itself confronted by a very serious problem. It could not revoke the company's charter—a course that might have been followed had that instrument functioned within Spanish private internal law—for that would have meant the unilateral suspension of an international treaty, a dangerous act which was certain to cause demands for retribution by Great Britain, or even war.

<sup>73</sup> The king of Spain was supposed to receive one fourth of the Asiento profits and 28¼ per cent of the profits from the annual ship. See "28th and Additional Articles of the Asiento Treaty," in Frances Gardiner Davenport, *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies* (Washington, 1934), III.

<sup>74</sup> For example, from 1713 to May 5, 1733, 363,646 hides, slightly over half from illicit transactions, were exported in company ships from Buenos Aires. Shelburne MSS, XLIII, 317. Cacao, leaf tobacco, snuff, sugar, and tallow worth 587,000 pesos, or £127,000, were shipped in 1738 as part of the returns from illicit trading. At least this much was sent in cash during this year. *Ibid.*, XLIII, 245. In 1730, the *Prince Frederick* carried about 400,000 pesos, or £85,000 sterling, in specie, 190,000 pounds of cochineal, worth £170,000, 47,000 pounds of indigo, and 167 tons of logwood. Anderson, III, 162; Add. MSS, 25504, f. 169. For some of the prices of these commodities, see *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1731-1907).

<sup>75</sup> Add. MSS, 25505, f. 67; 25510, f. 42, 55; Shelburne MSS, XLIII, 189-95; Add. MSS, 25505, f. 13; "Sundry Voyages," Shelburne MSS, XLIII, 245.

<sup>76</sup> Add. MSS, 25505, 4; 25504, f. 155, 210, f. 155; Shelburne MSS, XLIII, 189.

<sup>77</sup> Charles King, *The British Merchant* (London, 1721), I, 24, 94-95; Joshua Gee, *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered* (London, 1730), p. 11; William Wood, *Survey of Trade* (London, 1722), p. 132.



Confronted by this situation, Spain was forced to make a choice. Unable to accept the destruction of its commercial system, Spain attempted to negotiate but requested that the company, as an evidence of good faith, should open its accounts for inspection by the Spanish representatives. Naturally, the directors refused, for compliance would have meant the complete exposure of the illegal traffic. Neither Spain nor the South Sea Company would yield.<sup>78</sup> War was the inevitable result as Spain was determined to destroy<sup>79</sup> the system responsible for the partial breakdown of its colonial commerce and the politically powerful directors of the South Sea Company were equally resolved to continue their exploitation of the Spanish colonies.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> For an article which ably and clearly sets forth the diplomacy leading to the impasse between the company and Spain, see Ernest G. Hildner, "The Role of the South Sea Company in the Diplomacy Leading to the War of Jenkins' Ear, 1729-1739," *Hispanic American Hist. Rev.*, XVIII (1938), 322-41.

<sup>79</sup> The war did not completely eliminate the Asiento as a trading force. As late as October, 1748, an agent of the South Sea Company reported a flourishing business in Negroes from Jamaica to the Spanish colonies. Aiton, in *Hispanic American Hist. Rev.*, VIII, 177. The Asiento was given up by treaty in 1750. Alejandro del Cantillo, *Tratados, convenios, y declaraciones de paz y de comercio* (Madrid, 1843), p. 397.

<sup>80</sup> Aiton, in *Hispanic American Hist. Rev.*, VIII, 170. Temperley attributes the South Sea Company influence in Parliament to its financial and official connections with the British government. "The Relations of England with Spanish America, 1720-1744," *American Historical Association, Reports* (1911), I, 236-37. For accounts of the relationship of the company to the British national debt, see William R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, 1910-12), III, 288-360, and Lewis Melville, *The South Sea Bubble* (London, 1921). It is also interesting to note that the king was the governor of the company and that Burrell, the subgovernor, Bristow, the deputy governor, and two of the other directors in 1739 were members of Parliament at that time. *Members of Parliament* (London, 1878), pp. 72-84; *Gentleman's Magazine*, IX (1739), 103. This suggests a fascinating problem for future research regarding the existence of other links between the company and the government.

\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## The Griswold Story of Freneau and Jefferson

PHILIP MARSH\*

*GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE* for September, 1855, contains an essay by Rufus Griswold entitled "Philip Freneau, the Poet of the Revolution," in which occur these assertions:

He became a translating clerk in the Department of State, under Mr. Jefferson, and editor of the "National Gazette," which gained an infamous reputation by its attacks on Washington's administration. Freneau made oath to a statement that Mr. Jefferson did not compose or suggest any of the contents of his paper, but in his old age he acknowledged to Dr. John W. Francis that the Secretary wrote or dictated the most offensive articles against Washington and his friends; and to Dr. James Mease he exhibited a file of the "Gazette," in which what were alleged to be his contributions were marked.

This account, which may be called "the Griswold story," appears also in the 1855 edition of *The Poets and Poetry of America*,<sup>1</sup> which Griswold edited, though it is missing from the 1854 edition. In *The Republican Court* (1854), Griswold relates the story in a slightly different form, adding another aspect, Freneau's remorse:<sup>2</sup>

That the National Gazette was entirely under Mr. Jefferson's control appears never to have been doubted. In his old age Freneau marked a copy of it with the names of the writers of the most noticeable articles, alleging that he himself had never assailed in any manner the spotless fame of the Father of his Country. To Dr. Francis . . . he said it was among his greatest griefs that he had seemed to be an enemy of Washington, but that Mr. Jefferson had written or dictated whatever was reproachful or calumnious of that exalted character in the Gazette.

This story, in part or in whole, has persisted in showing sporadic life ever since its first appearance, the echoing historians and biographers apparently taking it quite for granted without any attempt at verification.<sup>3</sup> Yet, as mod-

\*The author is doing research in the Huntington Library.

<sup>1</sup> (New York), p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> (New York), p. 289; 1868 edition, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> Benson J. Lossing, *Life of Washington* (New York, 1860), III, 198; Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States* (New York, 1873), p. 186; John B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War* (New York, 1888), II, 52-53; Paul L. Ford, *The True George Washington* (Philadelphia, 1896), p. 263; Henry Cabot Lodge, *George Washington* (Boston, 1899[?]), II, 227-28; William E. Curtis, *The True Thomas Jefferson* (Philadelphia, 1901), pp. 244-45; William R. Thayer, *George Washington* (Boston, 1922), p. 219; Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1926), IV, 166; Meade Minnigerode, *Jefferson, Friend of France* (New York, 1928), pp. 172, 181.

ern scholars are quite aware, any "Griswold story" needs careful investigation before acceptance. This is especially true wherever Griswold's prejudices are concerned, and toward Jefferson he was definitely hostile.<sup>4</sup>

To examine the content of the story—the "infamous reputation" of the *National Gazette* existed chiefly among the Federalists; and the newspaper never calumniated Washington but opposed administrative measures and satirized the "monarchists." In answer to Hamilton's attacks, Freneau swore that Jefferson did not write for, or influence the content of, his publication;<sup>5</sup> and Jefferson made the same denials, privately, in a letter to Washington.<sup>6</sup> It is yet to be shown that they did not tell the truth, and it was only recently that any corroboration of the Griswold story came to hand—in a letter from Francis to Cyrus Powers, February 3, 1859:

The Statement that Philip Freneau had been employed by Mr Jefferson to furnish those aspersions on the Washington administration . . . is most true. Mr Freneau, at my office about 18 months before his death, of his own free accord, among many other matters touching revolutionary affairs, stated in express terms that such was the fact, & he added with a tone and in a manner I never can forget "and that work, Dr. has proved to be the saddest business of my life."<sup>7</sup>

As Francis and Griswold were friends,<sup>8</sup> probably Griswold had based part of his remarks on conversations with the doctor. It must be noted that Francis says nothing about Jefferson's writing articles for Freneau's paper; and there seems to be no corroboration available for the portion of the story relating to the marked file and Dr. Mease, who was probably a Philadelphian. The Francis letter makes but two points, Freneau's "employment" to furnish aspersions, and his remorse.

The question that most naturally occurs next, is the reliability of the Francis version of Freneau's remarks. As to the good doctor's character, there is nothing but praise; besides his medical career, he was teacher, editor, and writer,<sup>9</sup> and one of the most popular men in New York. Yet he never appeared in the role of true historian; most of his writings are biographical sketches characterized by an imaginative, hurried manner. His *Old New York* is extremely readable, and valuable for the atmosphere of olden times, but is without any suggestion of scholarly, historical methods. He was a cheer-

<sup>4</sup> Joy Bayless, *Rufus Wilmot Griswold: Poe's Literary Executor* (Nashville, 1943), p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> *Gazette of the United States*, Aug. 8, 1792. See Lewis Leary, *That Rascal Freneau* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1941), p. 212.

<sup>6</sup> Sept. 9, 1792, Ford, VI, 101-109.

<sup>7</sup> Letter in the possession of the New York Historical Society.

<sup>8</sup> Bayless, pp. 183, 207.

<sup>9</sup> Teacher, College of Physicians and Surgeons; editor, *American Medical and Philosophical Register*; writer, *Old New York* (New York, 1858).

ful, deeply sympathetic man, greatly interested in all literary, philanthropic, and public matters, and one of the busiest men of the times.

In this kindly soul's record there is nothing to suggest that he would deliberately misreport anything. But there is one unexplained discrepancy that concerns Freneau. In his account of the poet for the Duyckinck *Cyclopaedia of American Literature*, he says, "It was with much zest that I formed a personal acquaintance with the revolutionary bard. He was at that time about seventy-six years old, when he first introduced himself to me in my library."<sup>10</sup>

From this—as Freneau was born in 1752 and died in 1832—it was in 1828 when Francis first met him. But the two had been friends at least since 1815, as a Freneau letter testifies.<sup>11</sup> How did it happen that Dr. Francis, after knowing the poet for seventeen years or more before his death, could recall him as of only four years before and as a very old man? In his account, incidentally, there are other mistakes of fact,<sup>12</sup> and the whole is in the breezy, hurried manner typical of Francis.

At the time when Francis wrote the Duyckinck account he was sixty-six years old; this was also, apparently, about a year after the time when Griswold learned the story from him. When he wrote to Powers, Francis was seventy; he died two years later. In 1855, he was trying to recall a conversation of 1831, twenty-four years before (Freneau died in December, 1832). In 1859, he was struggling with a memory twenty-eight years old. Moreover, he was dealing with the words of a man seventy-eight and a half years old, who himself was reviewing hazy events of forty years before. And Freneau was always a dreamer, habitually inaccurate.

As to the assertion that "Freneau had been employed by Mr Jefferson to furnish those aspersions," the record reveals no editorial employment and no connection between Freneau's employment as clerk in the State Department and the conduct of his newspaper.<sup>13</sup> As to Freneau's "remorse," it is one of the most difficult of all things to believe. Nowhere else in the Freneau writings is there the slightest trace of it. And there was nothing in his conduct of the *National Gazette* to be remorseful about, as far as Washington

<sup>10</sup> Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck, eds. (New York, 1855), I, 333.

<sup>11</sup> Letter to Francis, May 15, 1815, in Charles F. Heartman, *Unpublished Freneauana* (New York, 1918). Heartman has mistakenly given 1819 as the date. See original at Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, N. J.

<sup>12</sup> That Freneau was a sailor until 1812, and that he was a prisoner on the *Jersey*. His career on the sea ended in 1804, and he was a prisoner on the *Scorpion* and the *Hunter*. See Leary, pp. 83, 323.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 193–246. See p. 389, n. 76, which is based on the supposition that the letter in question was addressed to Jefferson. A reading of the whole letter shows that it was probably addressed to one of the State Department clerks.

was concerned. Neither he nor his press had calumniated the President, in spite of extravagant criticisms of measures and biting satires of "monarchists." He had given and taken the hard blows of political warfare. What was there to be sorry for? Only himself.

Everywhere he went after 1792, he found respectability turned against him for supporting Paine, Jefferson, and the French Revolution, and for allegedly slandering Washington. The President's well-known anger at all criticisms gave impetus to this condemnation. As the years after Washington's death rolled by, the great man became increasingly an object of reverence, and his life a weapon of Federalist propaganda. Anyone who had ever opposed the father of his country was deemed worse than despicable. With each account of the Washington administrations, and with each discussion of Jefferson, Freneau's repute sank lower and lower. He was unjustly classed with Bache and Callender, though by comparison he was high-minded and courteous.

Under the weight of this ostracism by the very kind of people with whom he was culturally fitted to associate, it is easy to understand the discouragement that gripped him periodically after 1793, when he abandoned the *National Gazette*. His enemies he could avoid. But friends who, like Dr. Francis, both admired his talent and differed with him on political grounds, who felt that he had a stain on his record that ought to be confessed—these must have been both his trial and his temptation. A stronger man—and Philip Freneau can hardly be called a strong character—might well have weakened under the pressure of this combined enemy-friend disapproval. Tempted by a friendly willingness to forgive, did he soften, readjust his failing memory, concede a fault, and plead "guilty"? Such an incident would be fully understandable.

Whether, because of a thirteen-year lapse of memory and a tendency to inexactness, we should refuse to accept the Francis letter, is probably to draw too fine a line. Doubtless there was a conversation, the general import of which was as the doctor wrote; very likely he repeated it to Griswold; yet the whole matter is almost as clouded as before. The net result seems to be that the aging Freneau told the young Francis something that the aging Francis told Griswold and Powers. Just how much of what Freneau said, or Francis remembered, can be said to be the unsentimental, uncolored truth? The remarks of both men should be weighed on the delicate scales of time, memory, emotion, and senility. As to Griswold, though a contemporary branded him "constitutionally incapable of telling the truth,"<sup>14</sup> evidently a

<sup>14</sup> Bayless, p. 69.

part of his story was true. As to the rest, any judgment must be tempered by a recollection of his unreliability and prejudices.

But the important issues are Jefferson's writing and influence. Evidence for the first can be readily examined. Does the internal evidence of the *National Gazette* reveal the hand of the Secretary of State? As to his manner of writing, the considered answer must be no. Madison wrote seventeen articles for the newspaper, all calm, almost nonpolitical.<sup>15</sup> Brackenridge was a contributor. Even the arch enemy, Hamilton, was admitted, under a pseudonym of course, a half-dozen times.<sup>16</sup> Who the other contributors were is difficult to say. Most of them were Jeffersonians; perhaps they included Burke, Lee, Beckley, Wilson, and McKean. There is, surprisingly, little evidence of the editor's hand. Apparently he was content to let other Republicans fill his columns. He wrote only a few articles, paragraph editorials, and verse satires.

The only articles attributed specifically to Jefferson's pen are the "Veritas" letters of June, 1793.<sup>17</sup> These pieces were addressed to the President, attacking the policy of neutrality and calling on him to observe the French treaty. They are, however, consistently able, dignified, and courteous. Jefferson was greatly concerned about them and thought they were written by a Hamilton-inspired Treasury clerk to arouse Washington still further against the Republicans.<sup>18</sup> But whoever "Veritas" was, he was hardly Jefferson. In the 1795 wrangle over the Jay Treaty, the same man appeared again as "Valerius," in Bache's *Aurora*.<sup>19</sup> There is no mistaking the style and form though the author is now more forceful and less considerate of the President's feelings than in 1793. If we could ascertain "Valerius'" identity, we should know who "Veritas" was. In 1795 Jefferson was in retirement at Monticello, and there is nothing to connect his style with that of "Valerius."

It is rather futile, in view of his repeated refusals to engage in newspaper brawls, to assert that Jefferson wrote political letters, except in rare instances

<sup>15</sup> Gaillard Hunt, ed., *The Writings of James Madison*, VI (New York, 1906), 43-120.

<sup>16</sup> As "Civis," "Fact," and "Amicus," see for example Sept. 5, 12, Oct. 10, 17, 1792. See *National Gazette* files, and Henry Cabot Lodge, ed., *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1904), III, 28, 40; VII, 244.

<sup>17</sup> Minnigerode, p. 181.

<sup>18</sup> *Anas*, June 12, July 18, 1793.

<sup>19</sup> Philadelphia *Aurora*, Aug. 22, Sept. 1, 9, 17, 25, Oct. 8, 21, 29, Nov. 11, 1795. A "Valerius" in the *National Gazette* for Feb. 23 and 27, 1793, had warned against practices of royalty and worshipping the President as a king. In *The Freeman's Journal* of 1782-83, a "Valerius" attacked the Tories and conservatives. All the "Veritas" and "Valerius" letters have strong similarities of style and viewpoint, and appear to have been written by a Philadelphia legal mind of markedly superior ability. A plausible possibility suggests itself, that their author was the ablest Pennsylvania Whig-Republican, Judge Thomas McKean, signer of the Declaration of Independence, chief justice and governor of Pennsylvania, after 1792 an active anti-Federalist and a strong supporter of Jefferson.

very late in life. It is even ridiculous to persist in the idea that he wrote for the *National Gazette*, which contains no article except official statements that can fairly be said to be in his characteristic style.

No modern scholar has denied Jefferson's interest in, or influence on, Freneau. It is clear that he desired Freneau to establish himself in Philadelphia. As the head of a party, he could hardly fail to exercise an influence on its leading editor, if only by hearsay. But there is no known evidence whatever of agreement, subsidy, undue influence, or of any editorial guidance. Freneau's insistence that he was an independent editor and Jefferson's denial of personal influence appear substantially as true today as in the heated political battles of 1791 to 1793.



## Henry Adams' "Diary of a Visit to Manchester"

ARTHUR W. SILVER\*

DURING Henry Adams' sojourn in England as his father's unofficial secretary, there occurred one embarrassing incident which at first seemed to him semitragical. Two London journals, the *Times* and the *Examiner*, severely chastised him for his "Diary of a Visit to Manchester," which appeared in the Boston *Courier* on December 16, 1861, and is printed below.<sup>1</sup> The two articles convinced him he had better give up those newspaper contributions through which he had hoped to help the Northern cause.<sup>2</sup>

The "Diary" is interesting today not only as the cause of a distressing incident but also for the information it contains on Manchester, on the cotton trade and its future as a result of the Civil War, and especially on Manchester's attitude to the North and to the blockade in the fall of 1861. Further, it shows the nontechnical young Adams as a rather competent appraiser of an industry and of public opinion.

Henry Adams, having returned from Europe in the fall of 1860, first went with his father to Washington during that momentous session of Congress prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. On his father's appointment as minister to the court of St. James, Henry was selected to go along as private secretary because he was the son who could most easily "be spared from more serious duties."<sup>3</sup> The 23-year-old Henry thought, as he neared England, "that he was going to a friendly government and people. . . . He could not conceive the idea of a hostile England."<sup>4</sup> But within a few hours he was disillusioned by the provocative publication in London, on May 14

\*The author is assistant professor of history in the University of Maryland.

<sup>1</sup>Accounts of this incident are to be found in *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (Riverside ed., Boston, 1930), pp. 120-21; James Truslow Adams, *Henry Adams* (New York, 1933), chap. iv, "The Amateur Diplomat," especially pp. 88-91. Worthington C. Ford, ed., *A Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-65* (Boston, 1920), I, especially pp. 31-110, *passim*, contains correspondence of Henry and his brother, Charles Francis, jr. The diplomatic difficulties of the period are best studied in Ephraim D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (London, 1925), I, chaps. iv-vi, and Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago, 1931), chap. iii.

<sup>2</sup>The list of Henry's letters to the *New York Times* is printed in James Truslow Adams, *Bibliography of the Writings of Henry Adams* (New York, 1930), pp. 4-5. The letters were published in the paper between June 3 and December 19. The "Diary" is also listed here. Nothing else is listed until 1867 when Henry published his article on Captain John Smith in the January issue of the *North American Review*.

<sup>3</sup>James Truslow Adams, *The Adams Family* (Boston, 1930), p. 253; *The Education*, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 114.

(the morning after the ambassador's arrival), of the British Proclamation of Neutrality. The succeeding months were extremely hard for the young man, lonely, as yet without any friends among men in England, and increasingly depressed by American developments. The bad news that flowed steadily across the Atlantic created in him a sense of frustration.

Without his father's knowledge he had begun writing letters to Henry Jarvis Raymond of the *New York Times*, which were published as unsigned articles. In these, among other things, he tried without success to get the New York papers to give up their bitter attacks upon England and warned of the dangers attendant upon any untoward incident but to little effect.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, having been discouraged by Charles Francis, jr., from dashing home and taking a commission after what Henry felt to be the personal disgrace of Bull Run, he turned his attention to the English press and made friends with several of the editors, notably Townsend of the *Spectator*.<sup>6</sup> A few weeks later he wrote to his brother, "I hope that you will see in some of the London newspapers, if not my writing, at least my hand. They need it confound 'em."<sup>7</sup>

But by November he was in the depths. The only hope seemed to lie in McClellan. Just how low his spirits were is reflected in his description of the state of the relations between England and the United States in a letter of November 7 to Charles Francis, jr.:

The English Government are well disposed enough, at least so far as actions are concerned and now we hate each other too much to care a brass farthing what our *opinion* may be, on either side. Last May was the time for the contest of opinion. Now it is the most wretched folly to waste a moment over what this or any other country *thinks*. We must induce them not to *act*, but as for their thoughts, I, for one, have been thoroughly satisfied that America can expect no sympathy or assistance in Europe from any government. They all hate us and fear us, even the most liberal. We must depend wholly on ourselves.<sup>8</sup>

But at last, instead of stewing and fretting, Henry was to have a chance for some action by going to Manchester. At the close of the same letter he reported:

<sup>5</sup> To Charles Francis, jr., Nov. 7 and Dec. 13, 1861, Ford, I, 65 f., 83 f. In some of these letters he was unwise enough to talk about England's wanting war with America and to curse the Americans who would not believe him. For an illustration of this impatience, see especially the letter of December 13.

<sup>6</sup> Sept. 14, 1861, *ibid.*, I, 43-46. See Charles Francis, jr.'s letters of advice to him to this effect, Aug. 23, 25, *ibid.*, I, 31 ff., 53 ff. In the latter Charles urged him to write a review for one of the more important periodicals on the cotton supply question, gave him some suggestions, and offered to turn over all the material he had collected for such a paper.

<sup>7</sup> Sept. 28, 1861, *ibid.*, I, 49.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 65 f. In conversation with one of his hosts in Manchester he expresses this same view. See pp. 82-83 below.

To-morrow evening I start with a pocketful of letters for Manchester to investigate that good place. With such recommendations I ought to see everything that is to be seen and learn all that is to be learned. I am invited to stay with a Mr. Stell, an American there, and have accepted.

His especial mission was to investigate the attitude of the various Manchester interests to the North and to find out whether there was a party there determined to challenge the North's blockade.<sup>9</sup> He hoped to capitalize on his visit in the form of an article. "My present plan is to report with as much accuracy as possible all my conversations and all my observations." If he could make an effective article, he would write it out and send it over for Charles to give to the *Atlantic*, otherwise he would "contract it and send it to you [Charles] for the *Advertiser* or *Courier*." In any case it "should be printed as soon as possible."

Adams arrived in Manchester on Friday, November 8, the day the *San Jacinto* stopped the *Trent* and took off Messrs. Mason and Slidell. He remained there until the following Wednesday. Having returned to London he forwarded his "Diary" to Charles, as he had promised.

Charles wrote, December 17,<sup>10</sup> to report that the article had arrived just too late for publication in the *Atlantic*, which could not have printed it until January. He had then taken it to the *Courier*, which printed it December 16, on the front page as "A Visit to Manchester, Extracts from a Private Diary." The editor of the *Courier*, unfortunately for Henry, named him as author in a complimentary notice on the inside of the paper. Charles reported, however,

I doubt if anyone has read it, or any notice will be taken of it; for you might as well expect sailors on a sinking ship to pay attention to flourishing of a fiddle. It happened at exactly the wrong moment, and people were too much absorbed in the question of the moment to pay attention to that of the day.

<sup>9</sup> See "Diary" for Saturday, Nov. 9, pp. 80-83 below. This question was beginning to agitate the country, as the growing stringency in Lancashire began to tighten. By the first of October, American cotton was one shilling per pound, almost double the price of January 1, 1861. This was a speculator's price—none was being bought for consumption. Some of the smaller manufacturers and spinners of Lancashire joined other tradesmen who were concerned over the fate of the operatives in a clamor against the blockade, which they declared was ineffective. See *Economist* reports in issues in October, and *Times* in September, October. In vain these papers insisted that breaking the blockade, instead of producing cotton, would only play the South's game. The South, as we know, was trying to get England to do just that and was sending no cotton to the ports, on one excuse or another. Ordinarily cotton arrivals began at Southern ports in late August and September, but Neill Brothers' circular reported that they had not heard of a thousand bales coming down to the ports. How Henry came to undertake this mission is not clear. His brother had urged him, August 25, to write a paper on the cotton supply question and publish it in England. The whole purpose evident in the "Diary" was to let America know about the situation in Manchester. The diplomatic correspondence of the period in the National Archives makes no mention of the visit. From this I assume that it was not only a personal mission on behalf of his father but also one upon which Henry wished to capitalize.

<sup>10</sup> Ford, I, 84 f.

Thus the *Trent* affair, at least on the word of Charles Francis, jr., distracted attention from Henry's contribution to American understanding of English developments.

But, if the article attracted no attention in Boston, extracts from it were felt suitable for publication first by the Manchester *Daily Examiner and Times* in its issue of January 4,<sup>11</sup> and then by the Manchester *Guardian* with a longer extract on January 8.<sup>12</sup> The *Times* reprinted the *Guardian's* extracts on the ninth, and, fortunately for the young author, waited until the next day to comment. This took the form of a leader but it was lost in the more important news carried on the opposite page announcing the release of Mason and Slidell and containing long accounts from America.<sup>13</sup> The *Times* leaned heavily on the theme "To see ourselves as others see us." But it was plainly "miffed." It concentrated on three points: First, it criticized the visit to Manchester. "We had certainly not fancied that the great capital of the English cotton trade was so much out of the world as to need a Special Commissioner to bring its hidden opinion to light." Secondly, it criticized severely the anonymous authorities. "To the statements and opinions of these anonymous authorities, he attaches much the same kind of importance as Mr. Kinglake."<sup>14</sup> But the *Times* felt the views reported were no different from those "long held by the rest of us," even though the statements of several of those quoted were challenged in details. It was, however, upon the single short paragraph in which Adams compared Manchester and London society that the *Times* especially seized. Here it used its most cutting and patronizing tone.

Mr. Adams diary would not have been deemed complete by those for whose eyes it was intended had it not contained a little of that gossip which our cousins import into their most serious transactions. Accordingly, a document which evidently purports to be in the nature of a State paper contains a smart comparison between London and Manchester Society, greatly to the disadvantage of the former.

It declares that neither he nor Mrs. Stowe in her *Sunny Memories*<sup>15</sup> had been able to understand English society. Foreigners never could, it asserted

<sup>11</sup> This short report was concentrated on Adams' discussion of the sentiment in Manchester for breaking the blockade. The editor felt that, though there was some feeling there, most of it was centered in Liverpool. I could find no other comment in the scattered issues in the file of the first two weeks of January. Still I do not think any other comment would be made by this newspaper, which was so devoted to Bright and friendly to the North.

<sup>12</sup> A few noncommittal comments by way of introduction explained who the author was. The only editorial comment from this important paper was the printing in full of the *Times* leader on January 13, 1862.

<sup>13</sup> The impression created is reported in letters to Charles Francis, jr., from his father and from Henry dated January 10, 1862, Ford, I, 99 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Alexander W. Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea* (Edinburgh and London, 1863-87).

<sup>15</sup> Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands* (London, 1854).

on January 10. It hoped that some day, after he had learned that "the more he knows of London society the less he knows," he would make honorable amends in the *Boston Courier*.

Though the general public might have ignored the leader, young Adams did not. He felt he had become an object of general ridicule.

To-day I find myself in a scrape that is by no manner of means agreeable. . . . To my immense astonishment and dismay I found myself this morning sarsed through a whole column of the *Times* and am laughed at by all England. You can imagine my sensations. Unless something occurs to make me forgotten, my bed is not likely to be one of roses for some time to come. There is nothing to be done but grin and bear it.<sup>16</sup>

Though the *Times* had not made all that it might have of the publication of the "Diary" and because it dragged in the minister,<sup>17</sup> Henry was thoroughly alarmed and told Charles Francis, jr., "For the present I shall cease my other writing as I am in agonies for fear they should be exposed." He was especially afraid his father would find out about them. He asked his brother to notify Raymond of the *New York Times* why his London correspondent had ceased writing. He was afraid to write himself lest a letter would get out and "my connection with him must in no account be known. The Chief as yet bears the vexation very good-naturedly, but another would be my ruin for a long time. I don't want him ever to know about it."

Though the immediate alarm soon wore off, almost two weeks later young Adams had not recovered his aplomb.<sup>18</sup> He still felt "flabbergasted by the explosion of my Manchester bomb . . . which has made me too notorious to be pleasant." But he no longer felt quite so subdued; he was getting back his courage. After referring to his being "gently skinned" by the *Times* and "scalped with considerable savageness" by the *Examiner*<sup>19</sup> he said with considerable bravado:

<sup>16</sup> Henry to Charles Francis, jr., Jan. 10, 1862, Ford, I, 100.

<sup>17</sup> Henry, in *The Education of Henry Adams*, failing to go over the documents again, makes the incident a close call diplomatically rather than a typical *Times* lecture. "Luckily the *Times* did not know its victim to be a part, though not an official, of the Legation, and lost the chance to make its satire fatal; but he instantly learned the narrowness of his escape from old Joe Parkes, one of the traditional busybodies of politics" (p. 120). I feel, however, from the comment made by the *Times* that they went as far as they desired to go and would under no circumstances have gone farther. Cf. Adams, *Henry Adams*, p. 89.

<sup>18</sup> Henry to Charles Francis, jr., Jan. 22, 1862, Ford, I, 104 f.

<sup>19</sup> The article in the *Examiner*, Jan. 11, 1862, pp. 19 f., concentrated on two points but it drove both home with sledge hammer blows. After explaining who Adams was, it cut loose on his views of London society. "We are sorry to observe that the mind of our critic has been somewhat prejudiced by his sorry entertainment in London. He complains that at evening parties he was not allowed a dressing room. . . . But this, though bad, was not the worst. He was regaled with hard seed-cakes, and thimblefuls of ice-cream. . . . That hard seed-cake runs through and embitters all the young gentleman's reports of us." Its second point of attack centered on an incidental generalization on the North's economic position. This was taken as the point of departure for a scathing indictment of Federal finance.

For myself I care about as much for the *Times* or the *Examiner* as I do for the *Pekin Gazette*; but, unfortunately, the American Minister in London is at this time an object of considerable prominence, an eyesore to an influential and somewhat unscrupulous portion of the community. Accordingly I form a convenient head to punch when people feel vicious and pugnacious [*sic*]. I have, therefore . . . found it necessary to take in every spare inch of canvas and run under double-close-reefed mizzen to gallant skysails before a tremendous gale.

Therefore he had been making himself as unobtrusive as possible. Yet he felt that such an attitude reduced his usefulness "to almost nothing, and I might just as well be anywhere as here, except that I cannot leave the parent . . . afloat on the raging tide."

By another ten days he had completely recovered himself and realized his good fortune in having no club, that "society" was out of London, and that

no one thought twice about the *Times*' articles; no one except Joe Parkes even spoke of it; and the world had other persons . . . for constant and favorite objects of ridicule. Henry Adams escaped, but he never tried to be useful again. . . . Zeal was too hazardous a profession for a Minister's son to pursue, as a volunteer manipulator, among Trent Affairs and rebel cruisers. He wrote no more letters and meddled with no more newspapers, but he was still young, and felt unkindly toward the editor of the London *Times*.<sup>20</sup>

Nonetheless he dreaded the approaching session of Parliament and the return of "society" to the capital. "The son of the American Minister is likely to meet with precious little favorable criticism in London Society, in these days." Here the sting of the *Times*'s skinning showed itself. He planned to steer clear of "society." "I do not mean to press myself in this quarter, but rather to avoid notice and be all the more active where no one sees me. I can't do much, but I think I can make myself of some use." Therefore, he completely changed his system. He changed his correspondents. They were no longer newspapers but individuals. The circle of his private correspondence was now stretched as far as possible. "With luck," he wrote his brother Charles, "I may make as much headway so, as I could in any other way."<sup>21</sup>

#### A VISIT TO MANCHESTER: EXTRACTS FROM A PRIVATE DIARY<sup>22</sup>

MANCHESTER, 8th Nov., 1861. Left London this morning<sup>23</sup> in the five o'clock train by the Great Northern, from the station at King's Cross. With two fellow passengers, who were busily engaged in talking all the way to each other, I passed the tedious five hours and a half which lie between London and this city. We

<sup>20</sup> *The Education*, p. 121; see also Henry to Charles Francis, jr., Jan. 31, 1862, Ford, I, 108-10.

<sup>21</sup> Jan. 31, 1862, Ford, I, 108.

<sup>22</sup> *Boston Daily Courier*, Monday morning, Dec. 16, 1861.

<sup>23</sup> Should read "evening." A few obvious misprints have been corrected, but, in general, Adams and/or his typographer have been given their way in spelling.



were true to our time, however, and before eleven I was on the doorstep of Mr. —,<sup>24</sup> who has so kindly offered to take charge of me for a few days; and a good fire, some supper and a cup of tea soon set me up again. We discussed politics a little while over a cigar, and I began at once on one part of my errand, by asking what was the feeling among the solid people of Manchester towards the North. My host evidently thought it not at all what it should be. He thought it was generally unfriendly and even hostile, but did not deny that the radical party, the Brights and Cobdens of Manchester, who have large influence are with us. The factories are running short time, or are wholly closed, and the operatives will, as a rule, have to be supported. We had a half hour of this talk, and then retired to bed.

Saturday, 9th Nov. We breakfasted at nine o'clock, and then I walked with my host into the city. It is a peculiarity of these manufacturing places, that if one really wishes to see them, one must go out of them. The city of Manchester seems to be a collection of enormous warehouses, banks and shops, set in a broad margin of common brick houses, which the lower classes live in. But the best and largest factories lie at a distance varying from one mile to fifty or thereabouts, in little towns of their own, and the houses of the wealthy citizens are all country houses on the outskirts of the town, so that for miles about one meets long and very pretty roads lined with villas and parks, which make the environs charming, but which leave the city proper very dull and gloomy, from the want of handsome private houses. As we entered the streets, the sun, which had been shining brightly two miles away, became a dull red ball in the smoke and fog, and no one who was not accustomed to the atmosphere would have supposed that it was a fine day.

Before setting to work to deliver my letters of introduction, I went with my host to his office, and as it was necessary to wait a short time, I took up the *Manchester Guardian*, and found in it the report of a meeting of the Cotton Supply Association,<sup>25</sup> yesterday, to consider the subject of cotton from Jamaica. It was interesting, and I read it through, and mentioned it to a gentleman who happened to come in presently, and to whom I was introduced, who laughed and said that there was one fact which the reporter had taken care not to set down, and this was, that only nine persons had been present at the meeting. This want of interest on such a question seems very strange, but I do not believe it is more than an accident in this case.<sup>26</sup> The British are so bent on making India their cotton-field, that they pay too little attention to the West Indies and the West Coast of Africa, both of which, it seems to me, promise better than the East Indies, and in both of which the cultivation would do more good and produce more advantages to the world.

<sup>24</sup> Stell. See p. 76 above.

<sup>25</sup> The Manchester Cotton Supply Association was started by some far-sighted members of the cotton trade who became concerned in the spring of 1857 over the failure of supply to keep pace with demand, with a consequent steady rise in the price paid for cotton. The association became practically the cotton branch of the chamber of commerce. Though it was handicapped by the prevailing beliefs in *laissez faire* and free trade, the association did good work during the fifteen years of its existence, 1857–1872. The story of its activities is told by its secretary, Isaac Watts, in *The Cotton Supply Association* (Manchester, 1871), and in outline by W. O. Henderson in "The Cotton Supply Association," *Empire Cotton Growing Review*, IX (Apr., 1932). See also my thesis "Efforts to Secure a Cotton Supply in the British Empire, 1850–1872" (manuscript).

<sup>26</sup> One of the things most persistently criticized about the cotton trade of Lancashire was its continued refusal to support efforts, like those of the association, directed at securing alternative sources for the supply of cotton and in this way becoming less dependent upon the Southern states.



My host now came to start me on my labors, and we went together to the office of Mr. —, a large commission merchant on whom I had a letter. I was received very kindly, and we had a talk of some length on the two subjects about which I was curious.

"My informants," I was assured, "were wrong in telling me that the people of Manchester wished the government to break the blockade. There was not a man of position in Manchester who would venture to say to Lord Palmerston, 'interfere for the cotton;' not a man; of that I might feel assured. Nor would Manchester give any encouragement now to any party which made the infraction of the blockade its war cry. If such a party existed, it was in Liverpool alone, and among the cotton-factors and persons connected immediately with the South.

"The present pressure on the spinners is an excellent thing, provided it does not last too long. They have forced such a quantity of goods on the market that in India certain classes of their fabrics are selling at a quarter below cost; the markets are supplied there for three months, and if the American trouble had not occurred so as to check the rate of production, a disastrous financial panic must have taken place very soon. This, and not the want of cotton, is, in fact, the real difficulty now;<sup>27</sup> for, though the spinners have reduced their rate of consumption one-third, they do not, even at that, sell more than a half of what they spin, and are forced to store the rest. He himself, though he had general orders to buy goods at discretion, was not buying at all. This, he considered, was proof that as yet the real difficulty lay not in want of raw cotton, but in the enormous quantity of unsalable goods.

"Still further, the stock of raw cotton in the market is held almost entirely by speculators. Except by special orders, spinners have not bought at the high prices, and even the speculators show their belief that cotton will come, by the cautiousness of their operations. All that is wanted to bring cotton in abundance into the market, was certainty that the blockade would last, and that American cotton would not come this winter. The instant this became certain, the trouble would end."<sup>28</sup> I suggested that it lay in their own hands to produce the certainty; that a duty laid on slave-grown cotton would answer the purpose. He assented to this. "A duty of a half-penny a pound on American cotton would bring supplies from all parts of the world. But the measure was impossible, because neither the government nor the country would consent to such a violation of free-trade principles, merely for the benefit of Manchester. The whole nation at large dislikes Manchester, and is jealous of its growing influence."<sup>29</sup> It would never permit such an infraction of principle on the mere pressure of the cotton interests."

Mr. —'s partner happened to enter the room while we were talking, and was appealed to as authority on the question whether there were really any feeling in Manchester in favor of obtaining cotton at any risk. He hesitated, and was not so positive in denying it. He stated that he had no doubt if such a feeling existed

<sup>27</sup> Among the leaders of the trade this was the common complaint, though those outside the trade did not understand it. The basic reason for the glut was the combination of a series of bad harvests in England, beginning in 1860 and lasting to 1862, and the American Civil War, which drastically curtailed trade in cotton goods with the United States. The enforced curtailment of production enabled those who held large stocks to get rid of them eventually at a profit, which in many cases more than offset losses in manufacture.

<sup>28</sup> It was not until the fall of 1862 that this became certain and new areas sought to fill the vacuum. By the fall of 1863 stocks had begun to increase as the result of imports in excess of consumption at the existing high prices.

<sup>29</sup> See the *Times* especially. Its speaks of the "Cotton Lords" and of the Lancashire "plutocracy" (Aug. 1, 1862).

now, it was among few people, and to no great extent. But he expressed a doubt as to what might be the turn of feeling, when the pressure was more directly felt. In other words, when the present stock of goods is used up, which will be in about two or three months, and the price of the manufactured articles rises to a point corresponding to the price of raw cotton, so that the spinner feels that vast amounts of money are to be made, then, and not till then, a party may be expected to appear in Manchester, which will demand the opening of the cotton ports. "But I might be certain that such a party would meet very warm opposition; at all events, there would be a hot contest."

This I believe to be the truth of the matter, and the real answer to one of the questions that I came here to ask about. So far as the cotton interests of Manchester are concerned, our Government will have two months more full swing over the South. At the end of that time, a party will arise in favor of ending the war by recognizing the insurgents, and, if necessary, breaking the blockade or declaring it ineffective. The radicals, the Indian and Colonial interests, and some others, will oppose the step, and there will be a severe contest; all supposing that affairs on our side remain in about their present position.

Some further discussion then took place on the probable results of the war, and its effects on trade. Mr. — remarked that it was curious that the English had not yet really begun to appreciate the fact that there was a war. Very few of them saw that a great revolution in trade and commerce was already beginning to take place. In the final contest between free and slave labor, which has now broken out, few men are provident enough to be aware that the whole arrangement of the world's relations will have to find a re-adjustment, which will carry civilization and wealth to barbarous lands, and reduce civilized countries to barbarism. The whole balance is shifting. *Gare la dessous!* There can be no settled peace between freedom and slavery, till slavery has gone to the wall.

On my taking leave, he was very kind in offering to assist me to see any of the great sights of the place. Only in visiting the mills, he trusted that I would not make the mistake that Lord — did, when he came on an errand of the same sort. In his investigations he was observed to be dissatisfied, restless and evidently looking for something that he could not find. His conductors asked him what was the matter and what he was looking for. "Oh," he replied: "This machinery is very curious—very interesting indeed; but what I want to see first of all is the *wool just as it comes from the sheep's backs.*"

Saturday is a half-holiday in Manchester, and I was not able to visit any of the mills or to see any more of the gentlemen I had letters for. So I hunted up my host again, and he took me up to the — Club. Here I was introduced to several persons; one of them a very intelligent man, in the firm of — & Company, large spinners, who have mills not far from the city. We had a good deal of talk together. I brought up the question of the blockade again, mentioning the fact that the belief in America was very general that England meant to break it, and that this belief had caused most of the irritation that existed there against England. It was the lowness of the motives that had disgusted us. He declared that the idea was ridiculous, and that *no one* contemplated it in the present position of affairs. But, then, if the war drags itself out indefinitely, to the loss and suffering of the rest of the world, and it becomes evident that neither party will yield and that a settlement is hopeless, then an intervention may take place for the benefit of foreign nations and mankind. I remarked that this was a dangerous latitude to allow, when the same party who judged the cause was to profit by the decision.

He went on: "But such a latitude is a necessity. The world must, of course, have a right to decide where it considers its interests to overbalance those of a single nation. Suppose that the Southerners instead of a partial monopoly of cotton had a complete monopoly of grain of all kinds, and the world was to be famished by the blockade, would not intervention be justifiable? Suppose it were England instead of the North, who maintained the blockade, would not France interfere, and could England soberly blame her for doing so? There is no disposition in England to refuse to the Union a full and fair trial; but if, after what is evident to be such a trial, no step has been gained towards a settlement, foreign nations have a right to interfere, at least by a recognition of the South." This is not to be denied, I believe, in law, and yet it leaves the whole question as unsettled as ever. "Most Englishmen," he stated, "would, no doubt, prefer to see a separation accomplished,<sup>30</sup> yet this neither implies sympathy with the South nor hostile measures towards the North. It is a mere matter of private opinion." I assured him that on that point England was perfectly welcome to think what she liked. Her opinions were of no consequence to us, except as they indicated her actions. She had thought it her interest to weaken France and strengthen Austria, but instead of that it was Austria that was falling to pieces, and France that was stronger than ever, and I saw no reason why her policy should be more successful in America than in Europe.<sup>31</sup>

After luncheon, we smoked a cigar, and discussed cotton. He talked of the Surat<sup>32</sup> cotton, and stated that since the cotton pressure had begun, much more attention had been paid to it, and the spinners had been surprised to find how well it answered their purposes.<sup>33</sup> He was confident that already, whatever might be the fate of the American crop, Indian cotton had obtained a position and a hold upon the market that it would not lose. Whatever might happen, the cotton-trade never would go back to the old channels.<sup>34</sup>

Sunday, 11th Nov. Manchester society<sup>35</sup> seems to be much more like what one finds in American cities than like that of London. In Manchester as in America it seems to have fallen, or be falling, wholly into the hands of the young, unmarried people. In London the Court gives it dignity and tone, and the houses into which an admission is thought of most value, are generally apt to slight dancing. In Manchester, I am told, it is still the fashion for the hosts to see that their guests enjoy themselves. In London the guests shift for themselves, and a stranger had better depart at once as soon as he has looked at the family pictures. In Manchester one is usually allowed a dressing room at an evening party. In London a gentleman has to take his chance of going into the little ball room with his hair on end or his cravat untied. In Manchester it is still the fashion to finish balls with showy suppers, which form the great test of the evening period. In London one is regaled with thimbles full of ice-cream and hard seed cakes. I presume the same or similar differences run through all the great provincial towns. London society is a distinct thing, which the provinces are sensible not to try to imitate.

<sup>30</sup> The *Times* in its leader (Jan. 10, 1862) took exception to this statement.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Examiner*, Jan. 11, 1861.

<sup>32</sup> The general name of Indian cotton.

<sup>33</sup> It was claimed by those who had investigated England's cotton needs, that 75 to 80 per cent could be met with Surats. Cf. John Platt in *41st Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce for 1861*, p. 35. But because of English preference American cotton was usually worth 50 per cent more than Indian.

<sup>34</sup> Though this Manchester man was wrong in his forecast, Indian cotton was used in considerably larger quantities after the American Civil War than before.

<sup>35</sup> See p. 78 and n. 19 above.

Monday, 12th November. To town about eleven. Delivered another of my letters, and the gentleman, hearing that I was anxious to see the great cotton show, sent me under the direction of a clerk to a mill in the city where they were spinning it entirely, giving me at the same time a warning not to expose my curiosity too openly as to the changes in machinery. Some years ago I found that this feeling of jealousy was so great in Belgium as to entirely prevent admission to the mills there, but I had supposed that the English manufacturers were more enlightened. There was no need of the warning in the present case, however, for the mill and the machinery were all old and though they were using pure Indian cotton, it was for the coarser kind of cloth for which no changes of machinery had been necessary. I was shown the whole process, as [is] usual in visiting mills, but there was nothing new to remark. The operatives were dirty, very coarsely dressed, and very stupid in looks; altogether much inferior to the American standard. About a quarter of the spindles were silent, and, as they told me, a corresponding number of the operatives discharged, to starve as they best might. As for the Surat cotton, it answered perfectly well to the purposes for which they used it, without any change of machinery. As compared with American cotton, its inferiority is three fold. It is dirtier, not so white, and shorter in staple. The first of these objections is easily removed by prolonging a little the process of cleaning, and will probably be wholly removed when proper gins are introduced in India. As to the color, bleaching will make Surat cotton as white as any others. And as to the shortness of staple, some small changes of machinery will obviate the difficulty to a certain extent; but it may be removed wholly by devoting more care to the plant in its cultivation, or by mixing it with Egyptian, American or other long stapled cotton in spinning. On the other hand, when I inquired whether the Surat cloths were as good as those made of American cotton, I was answered in the negative. They were less durable. In conclusion I was shown the cloth when finished. It is not quite so white as that spun from American cotton, but I was assured that when bleached no difference was perceptible.

Tuesday, 13th November. My first visit this morning was to —'s great warehouse for printed goods. Young Mr. — took me over it and explained to me the mysteries of the trade. We passed some time in the "library," the room where the volumes of patterns are kept, and the study of these volumes was a very curious and instructive amusement. Mr. — told me that the number of rollers used in their printing establishment some miles out of the city was about 5500, and of course the variation of color make these print an almost infinite variety of patterns. Altogether they furnished a volume of human nature; an unpublished chapter of the *Sartor Resartus*. In one book were oriental figures for China; in another sober patterns for India; a third and a fourth contained the tastes of South America and Africa; in a fifth my conductor astonished me by parading before my eyes a number of fearful yellow daubs and glaring mixtures in which brilliant yellow was the favorite shade, informing me that there was a great demand for these at Constantinople, as they were the usual costume of the Hareems. I thought of the Arabian Nights and Tom Moore, and wondered whether romance could survive such a costume. I suggested that perhaps there was some mistake; these prints might serve for awnings and window curtains in the Seraglios, but surely not for the dresses of the romantic Dudus and Gulbeyazes of Constantinople. He was, however, positive to the fact and to their great popularity there, and I was forced to yield to the testimony.

For the home demand came in the more delicate shades of art. Here were

calicoes printed and embossed so as really to bear a sufficiently close resemblance to silk or satin, or even velvet. To be sure, the resemblance was likely to vanish on the first washing, but the embossed calicoes are dark, and need no washing. It furnishes always a handsome and very cheap dress for those who otherwise would have to go in rags.

Having run through the world from China to Peru, I returned again to the practical questions of the day, and hunted up the warehouse of my acquaintance of Saturday, Mr. —. He received me with much kindness and though it was the busy day, introduced me to his father and brother, and we were all soon deep in the cotton question, in its whole length and breadth. To illustrate the subject they showed me different samples; raw Orleans; Surats, as they now come to market and the saw-ginned, clean, and nearly as white as the Orleans; then yarn of different qualities, made from these materials, bleached and unbleached. They are strong advocates of the India cottons, and declared that there was no reason whatever why they should not take the place of all but the finest Americans, at ordinary prices. I repeated what I was told yesterday about the cloth; that it was not so durable as that from American cotton. They were surprised, and discredited it, saying that it was a matter on which people would probably differ at any rate. The cloth would last as long as any one would want to wear it. They were themselves using it largely, and should continue to do so, whatever might happen in America, and so would many of the Lancashire spinners. The yarn was good, of a fine, rich color and if made with a mixture of Egyptian or Brazilian, could be spun sufficiently fine.

We became much interested in the examination of the different fibres, and it was proposed to go to the rooms of the Cotton Supply Association, to continue our researches. As it was growing late, we hurried round to the office. Here we found, arranged on long stands, under little glass covers, samples of cotton from a great number of places all round the world, and I had at last an opportunity to test the question which is of the greatest importance to all who are interested in this trade, namely: the extent to which America has a natural monopoly of the cotton plant.

Some time ago, an article signed "J. E. B." appeared in the *New York Journal of Commerce*, which argued with a good deal of ingenuity, that *warp* cotton could only be grown in America to advantage. The argument was based on the fall of rain which occurred in the Southern states in summer, when all other cotton countries were parched up and the plant burnt while yet growing. "J. E. B." argued thus:

"This length and breadth of warp cotton lands (but partially cultivated, so far) extends from Wilmington, N. C., and from St. Augustine, Florida, on the Atlantic, or say from longitude 80 to longitude 95 in the East part of Texas. From the West part of Texas, where the average fall of rain per annum is only fifteen inches, it tapers off to three inches at Fort Yumas on the Rio Colorado, which river falls into the gulf of California, on the Pacific; this whole region being unfit to raise warp cotton. The same may be said of the lands lying south of the United States to the Isthmus of Panama; although the cotton tree is indigenous in many localities, as stated by Mr. Squires and others, and also by Dr. Livingstone, in Africa, on the Zambesi river.

"The discovery we claim to have made for the benefit of Lord Brougham and Exeter Hall, (who would raise cotton in India with servile Asiatics, in Africa with savage negroes, and in the West Indies with Coolies, with the avowed purpose to



supercede the use of cotton from our unique cotton lands, cultivated by the well-fed and well-cared for, improved African race,—a class superior to ‘the white slaves of England,’ as depicted in a work by J. Cobden, in vivid colors, and with revolting facts, drawn from Parliamentary examinations and reports, on the working of the coal mines, and the manufacturies of Great Britain by the operatives in that country, and by their coolies in the West Indies) is simply this, we have rain all the year,—twenty inches in summer—a high range of average temperature of 80 to 82 degrees, while other parts of the cotton world have the wet and the dry seasons, alternately, four to six months in the year, yielding very limited quantities of short fibred cotton.”

If this be true, the problem of cotton is indeed difficult to solve, and the slave power is as invulnerable as Hercules’ hydra. Luckily, however, everyone who knows anything of cotton knows that while the islands along the coast of South Carolina and Georgia produce the most valuable fibre yet known, averaging an inch and three quarters or even two inches in length, the next longest staple comes, not from the “Uplands,” nor from America at all, but from Egypt, where it furnishes as with us, the most valuable export of the country. In Egypt, however, there are two kinds of cotton grown; the one irrigated artificially during the summer months; the other relying solely on the annual rise of the Nile for the source of its development. Of these the former alone is the rare kind, but this is, as I have stated, inferior only to the Sea Island description. The inference, therefore, is, that artificial irrigation will supply the want of summer rains in any tropical climate, so far as to produce cotton of a much higher grade than is used in far the largest portion of cotton fabrics. “Uplands” cotton, which is the most in demand in the market, though by no means equal in price to Sea Island or Egyptian, or even Brazilian, averages little over an inch in length, and there seems no reason whatever for supposing that ordinary care will not produce all over the world a fibre quite as long in staple as this. Even the ordinary Indian cotton averages nearly nine tenths of an inch, though the poorer kinds are as low as only half an inch. There were specimen at these rooms of Indian cotton grown from Sea Island or Egyptian seed, which reached the length of an inch and eight-tenths. I take these lengths from the measurements as given in a chart issued from the India office in July, 1860, and according to that there is hardly a country within the tropics that has not produced samples of cotton equal or superior in staple to the famous “Upland Bowed Georgia and New Orleans.” The “natural” monopoly of America, consists, then, merely in the fact that her supply of rain in the summer months gives her an advantage over countries where there is no such supply; but Egypt is a proof that this advantage does not necessarily prevent other countries from successful competition; and India is a proof that even without this advantage and without irrigation, cotton may be grown anywhere, of a staple sufficiently long to supply in a large degree the place of the “Uplands Bowed.” With irrigation such as once existed in India, and may do so again, that country is abundantly able to compete with the slave states of America.

At the rooms of the Association we examined also the different kinds of cotton gins. First, there was the ancient Indian instrument,<sup>36</sup> with which probably the race cleaned the seeds from their cotton ages ago, perhaps when the Egyptian pyramids were building and the Sphinx was just beginning its eternal gaze across the desert. Two small wooden cylinders, cogged, and turned by a crank with the hand, have been sufficient for the aspiration of this people for all these

<sup>36</sup> The “churka.”

years. It does its work i.e. cleaning out the seed remarkably well, but it would require the continual labor of a month to clean a single bale of three hundred pounds. Next we tried Whitney's saw-gin; that famous instrument which is the source of much of our wealth and most of our woes. The objection to it is that its action is too violent and damages the fibre; but it cleans it beautifully. A third was one which had lately been invented, and of which the Association has already sent a number out to India; Forbes' patent churka. It may be worked by hand or by power, and its cost is about thirty dollars. There was still another smaller hand-gin there, of which numbers had been sent to different stations at a cost of about seventeen dollars each. And finally, there was a bale of cotton compressed by a new method, by means of which five hundred pounds of cotton were made to occupy a quarter less space than the old bale of four hundred pounds.<sup>37</sup>

Examination and discussion of all these matters took us a considerable time. At last I retreated, laden with documents, and well satisfied with my success. The next visit was on the other tack. My host took me on Change and introduced me to Mr. —, one of the M. P.'s for —,<sup>38</sup> an elderly man, with a very pleasing and dignified manner, who received me with much courtesy, and to whom I put at once the question which seems so difficult to obtain a thoroughly definite answer to. I stated that a great deal of doubt and contradiction existed as to the real attitude of Manchester towards our struggle in America, and I was anxious to learn from a really reliable source, what it was, and whether it were true that a party was forming there which intended to press the breaking of our blockade. The answer was certainly as frank and clear as anyone could wish. He assured me that he believed the feeling in Manchester to be one of sympathy with the Union, and of regret that the effort at this solution had ever been made. He knew of no party in Manchester forming to bring about the infraction of the blockade by Great Britain, nor did he believe that such a party could be created here or elsewhere. On the contrary, he believed he might tell me, that within a short time it had been proposed among some of the men of position in the city to make a public demonstration of sympathy with the North.<sup>39</sup> The disposition was of good will towards us. I replied that it was very agreeable to hear this statement, on such good authority, and I was sure that any public declaration of good will would have a great effect in America where precisely the contrary belief had been preached, until it was looked upon as a matter of fact, beyond a shadow of doubt, that Manchester was bitterly hostile to us. The conversation lasted about fifteen minutes, and nothing could be more distinct than the statement which he made; nor do I know where to go for better authority on such a question.

Determined, however, to obtain all the information possible, I asked my host to introduce me to the Editor of the Manchester —.<sup>40</sup> He took me accordingly, to the office of this journal, and to him I addressed the same question and received precisely the same reply. Yet he did not deny that it was not impossible, if the blockade lasted sufficiently long, that there might, in the course of the winter be an effort made to force the government to declare the blockade of one or two

<sup>37</sup> Important since cotton from India was charged freight according to the space it occupied, not according to its weight as American cotton was.

<sup>38</sup> Probably Mr. (later Sir) Thomas Bazley, 1797–1885, one of the outstanding men in Manchester and long one of her representatives, a kindly though not a forceful man.

<sup>39</sup> No such meeting was held.

<sup>40</sup> Probably the Manchester *Daily Examiner and Times*, which was a strong supporter of John Bright, and a friend of the ambassador. The "Diary" was first printed in this paper with friendly introduction. See p. 77 and n. 11 above.



ports to be ineffectual. If the people grew restless and cotton failed to come, such a result might occur. He did not believe it would be possible to induce Parliament to lay a duty on slave-grown cotton; it would be in the teeth of all their principles. I remarked that it seemed to be a question between breaking the law of free trade and breaking the law of nations. But he said that the process was not likely to be contrary to the law of nations. It was clear that no blockade on a large scale could be perfect, and there must always be a loophole to crawl through if it were needed. As yet, however, this was mere speculation, and all would depend on the course things took. The ministry were well disposed towards us, he believed, and so was the majority of the nation; but the ministry were hard pressed at home, and any accident on our side might complicate matters exceedingly.

All these statements tend only the more to show that the conclusion I came to on Saturday, was the correct one. As yet, we need fear no active hostility from Manchester, but so soon as the mills can again be worked at a profit, difficulty and a hot contest may be expected, which will grow intense in proportion as the prospect of money-making increases. But in spite of their present assertions I think that in such a case the radicals, the anti-slavery interests, and the colonies, would unite in preferring a prohibitive duty, if necessary, to a war.

Wednesday, 13th November. To the Club, soon after noon. Here I met again young Mr. —, who gave me a sample of the waste of flax, bleached, which they are now mixing with cotton.<sup>41</sup> He told me that he had just shown it to a cotton merchant, who had supposed it to be cotton, and valued it as worth a shilling a pound. Its cost, unbleached, was three pence, and the expense of bleaching two pence, which gives a difference of seven pence between its cost and its value. Mixed with Surats it made an excellent fabric but of course the supply was limited, and the price would rise. The only objection to working flax with cotton was, apart from its price, the length of its fibre. The material that he showed me was the waste flax, which had been torn by the action of the machinery into a condition which made it unfit to be used as flax, but particularly well adapted to spin as good New Orleans cotton. Flax itself might be spun with cotton, but the present machinery would have to be adapted to it, and the changes would be opposite to those needed for spinning the short Surat cotton, namely: a greater or less distance between the rollers, and a greater or less velocity in the revolution of the spindles, required to give the needed twist or consistency to the yarn. These changes were not expensive. He believed that pure Surat cottons might be worked as high as No. 30, and are worked to No. 24. This, however, was a long step in advance of what had been supposed practicable a short time ago; yet he believed that the Manchester spinners had for years past used a considerable quantity of the Surats, and had thus been able to economize to a large extent, while the American mills, which had never done this, must have spun cotton in large quantities, which cost them several cents a pound more than was necessary. The capacities of Surat cotton were not yet known, and were developing themselves every day.<sup>42</sup>

Such is the present position of this cotton question in Manchester. It cannot be doubted that if the blockade continues, Spring will find England nearly independent of America for this article,<sup>43</sup> and we shall see the steady advances of a

<sup>41</sup> The heyday of substitutes was the fall of 1862.

<sup>42</sup> The Cotton Supply Association was especially interested in seeing what could be done with Indian cotton and had a lot completely processed. It then set up an exhibition at its offices and in 1862 moved it to the Great Exhibition.

<sup>43</sup> It did not, chiefly because of the uncertainty of the American question until the fall of 1862.

great revolution in the world's condition. Matters can never go back to where they were a year ago. Yet America can always compete with any country in the production of this staple, and no one wishes to see her unable to do so. All that is wanted is to open competition, and then the slave power may again be curbed to its due position in politics, while the shores of Africa may be made the scene of a new civilization, and India may rise again to her old wealth and glory. Some persons complain that such an event would be the ruin of the United States; that it would destroy the balance of trade and make America hopelessly the debtor of Europe. Why this should be so does not appear. A nation, like a private person, is wealthy and prosperous, not in proportion to what it receives but to what it spends. If our Civil War has taught us one fact with certainty, it is this: that our imports may be cut down with safety and even advantage, one hundred millions of dollars.<sup>44</sup> If our receipts from cotton were lowered fifty millions we might still be rich; but though we exported cotton enough to pave our streets with gold, we should still be poor if we went on in that reckless extravagance which has already three times thrown the nation into bankruptcy.

Returned to London by the North Western in the evening, arriving safely before ten o'clock.

<sup>44</sup> Seized upon by the *Examiner*. See p. 78, n. 19, above.

## General History

METHOD FOR THE EASY COMPREHENSION OF HISTORY. By *John Bodin*. Translated by *Beatrice Reynolds*. [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, Austin P. Evans, Editor.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. xxix, 402. \$6.00.)

It has been recognized for quite a while that the importance of Bodin, even in the sphere of political thought, does not rest primarily on his discovery of the concept of sovereignty, which was conceived, with even greater force, by thinkers like Marsilius and Machiavelli. It is rather the fact that Bodin weaves the political structure ("the state graduated from the highest to the lowest," p. 268) into the hierarchic order of the cosmos which bestows on the French thinker an especial importance, particularly since it is against the background of the devastating civil wars of sixteenth century France that he stresses the importance of this all-permeating *ordo*, fully aware of the value of the state to which, he says (p. 1), after immortal God, we owe all things. Already in the first of Bodin's main works, the *Method* (published in 1566), there is found ample evidence that this conception of the hierarchic order was his prevailing concern. We read here that men "should first notice the goodness of God and His pre-eminence in human affairs, then in manifest natural causes, then in the arrangement of the heavenly bodies; after that, in the admirable order, motion, immensity, harmony, and shape of the entire universe, so that by these steps we may sometime return to that intimate relationship which we have with God, to the original source of our kind, and again be united closely to Him. Those who interpret history differently seem to me to violate the eternal laws of nature" (p. 16).

It has sometimes been said, and has been proved very aptly by John L. Brown (*The Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem of Jean Bodin: A Critical Study*, Washington, 1939), that the *Method* contains in nuce much of the later and better-known writings of Bodin. But it is the *Method* itself for which the sentence just quoted could serve as a motto because it illustrates the vastness of the French thinker's interests and topics, his insistence on the *res publica mundana* as well as on the concept of the microcosm (p. 117); it concerns the principal and final topic of Bodin: the *fruitio Dei*. For, in Bodin's political thinking, the idea of the *summum bonum* is still alive (and of this, too, the *Method* offers examples; cf., pp. 16, 30, 187). Not long after Bodin, in the course of the history of political thought, this concept of the *summum bonum* was to disappear and, in its place, as E. Voegelin has said, there was to appear, with Hobbes, the concept of the *sum-*

*num malum*, the fear of death as the basis of political life; and accordingly, with Hobbes, political sovereignty was released from any hierarchical order. "It is Bodin's particular contribution to the theory of government"—Professor Voegelin says in his manuscript of the "History of Political Thought"—"to have adapted the Mediterranean speculation on cosmic hierarchy to the theory of the national state."

Bodin, having in mind the aim of historical writing described above, was forced to admit that there never has been or ever can be a finished historian (p. 55). It would be a tempting task to investigate the extent to which Bodin, in his *Method*, was a forerunner of the critical method of history, just as he cleared the paths not only for Vico and Montesquieu but—as far as anthropological aspects are concerned—also for Buffon. In this connection we may note, in the *Method*, the statement that it is necessary to show by reason, not by authority, why anything is so (p. 187), and also the expression of praise for Guicciardini, "that very father of history," who inspected "what I think the most important [for the historian], the official records" (p. 74). But, while there are critical reflections on the value of sources (pp. 51, 59), there seems to be completely lacking in Bodin that basic experience of the critical historian which Niebuhr was to express later when he said, "While the narratives which have come down to us, are not authentic, these [same] narratives contain the authentic history."

Up to the present, so far as the reviewer knows, no inquiry has been made into the development of Bodin's thought. Concerning this development and the direction which it took, the *Method* affords another characteristic example: In the *Republic*, the first version of which was published in 1576, ten years after the *Method*, Bodin stresses the importance of man's fulfilling in humility the duties towards the community into which he has been born; in the *Method* he asserts: "The best man is the worst citizen, for his whole being, seeking solitude, is carried heavenward in contemplation" (p. 187).

The present edition of the *Method*, the first in the English language, has been provided with an introduction by Miss Reynolds, who spent seven years in careful preparation and translation; it is to be regretted that she did not add a week to her work in order that the index, which is rather poor in its present condition, might be a real help to the user of this highly interesting but badly organized opus that contains so many problems stimulating for the historian and the student of political thought.

Catholic University of America

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

THE USE OF PERSONAL DOCUMENTS IN HISTORY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND SOCIOLOGY. Prepared for the Committee on Appraisal of Research by Louis Gottschalk, Historian, University of Chicago, Clyde Kluckhohn, Anthropologist, Harvard University, Robert Angell, Sociologist, Univer-

sity of Michigan. [Bulletin 53.] (New York: Social Science Research Council. 1945. Pp. xiv, 243. \$1.50.)

This book deals with the use of human and personal documents in history and also in the two social studies of anthropology and sociology. Such documents are the chief source of historical information; but they are only one source of many, and a minor source, in the two latter studies. Therefore their use in history is the most widely treated of the three. A discussion of the use of personal documents in history really requires a book on historical method and that is what Professor Gottschalk has given us here. If his book were amplified and were rewritten here and there in an easier style, without sacrificing any of its keen analysis, it would make a very useful text for teachers of history and their advanced students. The footnotes already furnish a good bibliography of the subject, although there are a few errors in them. It might have been well if the reader's attention had been called to the fact that John H. Wigmore's book, of which much use has been made, deals not with historical evidence in general but with the *law* of evidence.

The article on the use of personal documents in anthropology by Clyde Kluckhohn ought to prove very helpful to teachers and writers of history as well as to those who work in the field of the most basic social study. It shows us the richness of anthropology as a revelation of human life in the past and as an indispensable contributor to the work of the historian. If our college teachers of history dealt more intelligently and more courageously with some of the vital phases of human life usually skimmed over, or even entirely ignored, anthropology would become an even more helpful neighbor than it has been thus far. In what other field, for instance, can we learn so well that the story of progress has been one of continual secularization?

The third part of this book, dealing with the use of personal documents in sociology, the most inclusive of the social studies, is the work of Robert Angell, sociologist, of the University of Michigan. Seeking to arrive at generalizations and laws in regard to human nature and in regard to the life of human society it, too, is of profound importance to the historian. Karl Lamprecht, as well as many a later historian, has shown how history may be enriched, made more inclusive, and vitalized by the aid given to it by sociology. Sociology's generalizations have already illuminated many phases of history and its helpfulness promises to be even greater in the future. This present study shows very well how the sociologist uses the same documents as the historian but for a different purpose and in a different way.

*Palo Alto, California*

EDWARD M. HULME

CONFIGURATIONS OF CULTURE GROWTH. By *A. L. Kroeber*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1944. Pp. x, 882. \$7.50.)

THIS is a highly important book for those historians who accept responsibility for synthesis over long periods. The book traces the growth and decline of move-

ments in thought and art over the entire history of civilized man for which there exist the literary and archaeological data used by the historian. What is traced is, however, not qualitative-quantitative output, as in an ordinary history of art or literature, but the increase and decrease of original, creative novelty, defined closely according, as far as possible, to criteria which have been worked out by critics over a long period of time, and so may be regarded as objective; the merely imitative or repetitive is not taken into account. Philosophy, science, philology, sculpture, painting, drama, literature, and music are so treated, and there is then a penultimate chapter on "The Growth of Nations" which seeks to effect a similar treatment for societies as wholes, including their political-social-economic achievements as well as their achievements in art and thought.

It is of the greatest value to the historian to have his material so reviewed by one of the leading anthropologists, and it is of still greater value because Professor Kroeber is, as is clear from the content of the book, himself an art critic with a most acute perceptive gift. For this last reason, evidently, he has felt it essential to maintain a powerful curb upon subjective, intuitive interpretations of his own. They are not wholly absent, but, when given, are carefully labeled as what they are. Hereby, without doubt, something advantageous is gained, but also something is lost, and I think the social sciences would gain still further if Professor Kroeber would write another book to embody all those more subjective opinions and impressions toward which he has been so severe in this book; what he personally thinks is of interest to other scholars, for the sort of gifts he possesses are rare.

Some criticisms of the factual order could be made, but very few of fact in the narrowest sense; rather, criticisms of this kind apply to interpretations of small groups of facts. As a single example, I do not think that Professor Kroeber has fully grasped the late development of medieval philosophy—a sufficiently subtle and difficult subject. This leads on, however, to a larger criticism of the book as a whole: I do not think that the eight categories given above are on an equal footing for representation of historic human endeavor. Sculpture, painting, music, possibly drama, are perhaps roughly of like value as indexes of artistic attainment, but "literature" is obviously a composite category, having, incidentally, special relationships with philology, philosophy, and drama. The category "philosophy," as used by Professor Kroeber, is, in my opinion, positively misleading, for he relies upon the definition used by any ordinary text of the history of formal philosophy, which is itself largely a matter of chance survival of written record. That kind of philosophy has its real historic importance as recording, rather roughly, the moments of maximum self-consciousness in thought, which are also the moments when far-reaching attempts at critical systematization have been made. These have been discontinuous moments in history, but the fundamental "content" of philosophy includes also something else which is continuous—or, rather, includes a part of it. It may be defined as the total attitude to life or to the "world," as a

philosopher used the latter term—the unconscious and half-conscious as well as the conscious habits of thought, bodies of customary knowledge, beliefs, and so forth. By saying that this is continuous, I mean that it is there in all societies at all times, whereas only snatches of its development are revealed clearly, now and then, in formal philosophy. An account of the history of formal philosophy will thus be extremely misleading if it is taken as a history of this total attitude to life—the more so because it records very important moments in its development. The total attitude is, of course, shown in all of Professor Kroeber's eight categories, so that, for this purpose, they are radically incorrect categories. It is shown much more directly and clearly (if only partially) in philosophy than in the others, and, next most clearly, it is shown in theology, which Professor Kroeber has excluded completely; it is also shown largely in some kinds of literature.

Professor Kroeber's book will be used by the historian as a source of information for the growth and decline of societies. It should, in my opinion, be so used, but with much critical care. The book gives an excellent account of the rise and fall of activity and achievement in those eight categories, each considered by and for itself as a special abstraction out of general human achievement. For this purpose it probably comes quite near to finality. But, for the reason that his eight categories are partial, overlapping, and, in some instances, vague in relation to total human achievement, they do not give a guide to that total achievement. Just as his category "philosophy" gives a true index only for formal philosophy, so, in a more complicated manner, all his categories taken together give a true index only for a special aspect of human activity, a composite aspect which could be described as the "cultural," in the Victorian sense of that word. Something is done to rectify this disproportion in the chapter on "The Growth of Nations," but it is nothing like enough, and, if taken as final, will cause error.

Furthermore, the last chapter contains, as it should contain, broad opinions about what regularities have been revealed in the book in the curves of rise and fall of the cultural categories discussed—whether they show repetitions, similarities, and so on, for different societies and periods. It appears that they show very little indeed beyond the bare fact that manifestations of culture rise and decline. These manifestations are, I submit, merely superficial, and, quite possibly, if there were devised a true system of categories to cover, with due weighting, all human activity, a very different pattern of regularities would be shown. While I should not expect any such close repetitions as Professor Toynbee alleges, still less such regularities as are implied in the egregious theoretical structure of Professor Sorokin, I do think it probable that variations between individual societies (so far as societies are individuated) would be shown to be intelligible and amenable to systematic description.

This may sound like a very destructive criticism of Professor Kroeber's book. It is nothing of the kind. Perhaps the greatest value of the book is that it provokes reflection upon the real categories which are applicable to the rise and fall of



civilized societies, to the fundamentals as well as the surface manifestations. So little is known about this that neither Professor Kroeber nor anybody else could have written a book using such categories. The criticism is, in fact, directed against our entire social science. For historians: if history has a meaning, then certainly a most important part of the meaning is to be found in the rise and fall of societies; but historians treat this as a problem arising incidentally to the chore of preparing a freshman survey. For anthropologists: there has never been a debate among historians (or others) about what constitutes the "culture" of civilized societies, as there is among anthropologists about what constitutes that of primitive societies. As a result, the concept as related to civilized societies remains the vague, semiconscious product of nineteenth century textbook writers. If, therefore, as I sincerely hope, anthropologists will follow Professor Kroeber and concern themselves with civilized societies, it is first necessary for them to systematize the culture of those societies scientifically.

*Atlanta University*

RUSHTON COULBORN

A HISTORY OF THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY. By *Kenneth Scott Latourette*, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. Volume VII, ADVANCE THROUGH STORM: A.D. 1914 AND AFTER, WITH CONCLUDING GENERALIZATIONS. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1945. Pp. xiii, 542. \$4.00.)

THE appearance of this book brings to successful conclusion the most ambitious one-man multiple volume historical project of our generation. Few individuals today have the temerity to launch an undertaking involving a decade or more of unrelenting toil; fewer still live to carry it through. In writing his monumental 3,550 page *History*, Professor Latourette, who has long been an eminent specialist in the religious field, has attained a distinction virtually unique among American writers of the present century and merits the hearty congratulations of all members of the profession.

As originally conceived, there were to have been six volumes appearing over a seven-year period. A seventh was ultimately found necessary but, even with the outbreak of war, only one additional year was required to complete publication—a remarkable feat in these troublous times.

Volumes I through III, brought out in 1937, 1938, and 1939 (for reviews see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 865; XLVI, 117), cover the period from the birth of Christ to 1800—an age of humble beginnings, slow growth, and internal strife, witnessing the emergence of three powerful Christian groupings and innumerable sects. Volumes IV, V, and VI, issued in 1941, 1943, and 1944 (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII, 66; L, 96), embrace the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—the era of well-financed mission enterprise, of fierce rivalry with both older and newer religions in outlying lands, and of triumphant emergence as a dominant world

faith. This concluding volume surveys the years since the outbreak of the first World War with their challenge to ethical concepts and teachings and pits the Christian church's record against that of other great religious bodies, arriving at the general conclusion that it has done more to benefit humanity than any of its powerful competitors.

No parallel work has ever appeared in any language. Certain ponderous accounts of the great beliefs exist and sectarian "histories" abound. These have, however, uniformly been the creations of unscholarly zealots and have been marred by bland assertion, uncritical interpretation, special pleading, and bigotry. Professor Latourette, in contrast, is a competent historical scholar who views his subject objectively despite his early career as a Protestant missionary. He has read voluminously, weighs his evidence with care, is cautious in his every statement, and documents his text with thousands of footnote references. The result is a panoramic narrative of compelling excellence meeting the highest standards of craftsmanship and marking a milestone in New World historiography.

Few works in late years have filled a greater need. If social history was long the most neglected phase of human development, the impact of religious forces on mankind has remained the least-studied aspect of social history. The explanation is simple. Spirituality continues a paramount force even in a materialistic age but sectarianism dominates the average individual. No matter how objective and detached his outlook on mundane affairs, blind emotionalism governs his reactions on matters of the soul. Here his mind remains closed. With scant lip service accorded the principle of toleration, appreciation and understanding of other religious groups' attainments become virtually impossible and lamentable ignorance on the whole subject results.

Professor Latourette has filled a large gap in historical literature and, in doing so, has paved the way for the rational study of Christianity as a major social phenomenon. Similar dispassionate syntheses in the Brahman, Buddhist, Confucian, Jewish, and Moslem spheres would serve materially to promote the study of social history and to foster international brotherhood.

It is the author's view in this final volume that Christianity has shown itself pre-eminently capable of meeting the disruptive forces attending the new era dating from 1914. The three decades witnessing the passing of European supremacy, the spread of social revolution, the decline of laissez faire, the revolt of colored peoples against their white overlords, the rise of communism and of totalitarianism, and the engulfing of nations in global conflict might well have brought ruin to a less resilient and adaptable organism. Despite drastic changes in conditions favoring unparalleled expansion in the century after Waterloo, Christianity proved to have within itself a propulsive vigor enabling it to ride the storm and to attain the strongest position in its history.

The basic factor in the situation has been a shift to indigenous leadership and

the establishment of autonomous native churches in all parts of the world. Thus, at length, Christianity has truly become the democratic faith for all mankind and therein lies its greatest and abiding source of strength.

*George Washington University*

LOWELL RAGATZ

INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF FISHERIES. By *L. Larry Leonard*.

Issued in co-operation with the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. [Monograph Series of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, No. 7.] (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; distributed by International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, New York. 1945. Pp. x, 201. \$2.00.)

THIS well-written and scholarly volume surveys fisheries regulation up to 1944. Controversies discussed which influenced the development of international law on territorial waters include the seventeenth century British-Dutch herring dispute, the century-long Anglo-American North Atlantic fisheries controversy, and the more recent Russo-Japanese fishery dispute. Controversies included which involved the high seas are the Anglo-French dispute over the Channel fisheries, the successful attempt of the nations bordering the North Sea to agree on conservation regulations, the famous Alaska fur seal controversy, the valiant attempt to save various species of whale from extinction, the successful Canadian-American measures to protect the halibut and sockeye salmon in the Puget Sound region, and, finally, the sharp protest voiced by Americans against the Japanese threat to the Alaskan salmon fishery.

When a sovereign nation refuses to co-operate in a fisheries conservation program and insists on ruthlessly exploiting the resources built up and maintained by the self-denial of other nations, a serious problem is presented. The record of few nations is spotless in this respect, but that of none during the past two decades is as discouraging as that of Japan.

Japan refused to co-operate with twenty-eight other nations which signed the League of Nations' whaling convention of 1931 and disregarded American regulations to conserve the Alaskan salmon, the richest fishery on the American continent. Under the fur seal convention of 1911 the catch increased from 123,600 seals in 1911 to 2,338,312 in 1939. Claiming that the increased seal herd was eating up valuable food fishes and that she did not receive an equitable share of the catch, Japan terminated the convention six weeks before Pearl Harbor. The United States maintained that fur seals, as a rule, do not eat food fishes. Unfortunately the convention did not provide for the making of periodic studies by an international group of scientists of the habits of the sea animals involved.

The maintenance of the world's fishery resources and the elimination of disputes over them, the author states, is the joint responsibility of science and

diplomacy. He favors the creation of an independent "International Fisheries Office" and outlines it in considerable detail. The question may be raised as to whether all such organizations should not be brought under the control of the new United Nations.

The publication of this excellent volume is an effective way to further the purposes of its sponsors. It represents "functional" history at its best.

*Ohio University*

A. T. VOLWILER

THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF 1919: ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE. By *F. S. Marston*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 276. \$3.50.)

THE end of the war in Europe seems likely to arouse renewed interest in books which contribute toward a better understanding about the close of the first World War. Mr. Marston's book belongs in that category.

The bibliography of the Paris Peace Conference is already enormous. Most of the books deal with the leading figures in its proceedings or attempt to describe and evaluate the outcome of their labors. Little of value has hitherto appeared in regard to the organization and procedure of the conference. That gap Mr. Marston has attempted to fill. His effort has been highly successful. It seems safe to say that he has left little opportunity for later investigators to add anything of much importance to the matters with which he has dealt.

The book shows clearly that the conference began without a plan for its organization and procedure and that the omission was never fully repaired, though considerable relief was obtained through the shrewd and indefatigable work of Sir Maurice (now Lord) Hankey, its virtual though not its titular secretary. That the most important questions should be decided by the Big Four—Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando—was probably inevitable, but the lack of plan contributed materially to bring about that result. Whether the final outcome of the conference was seriously affected by the absence of a plan Mr. Marston does not say. This omission is the one serious fault of the book in regard to its content.

Minor flaws are not numerous. The reviewer regards the passage at pages 87–90 as unfortunate. It gives a somewhat misleading account of the work of the labor commission, particularly the role played by Professor J. T. Shotwell. His part was much more extensive and decisive than the reader would suppose.

Documentation ought to show where the evidence relied upon may be found and, so far as possible, the exact character of it. Mr. Marston is impeccable in the former but does not attempt to meet the latter requirement. His method saves space, but it does so at the sacrifice of interest on the part of the critical reader.

*Dartmouth College*

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON

WAR THROUGH THE AGES. By *Lynn Montross*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1944. Pp. xiv, 941. \$5.00.)

ACCORDING to the author's introduction, "the purpose of this book is not to discuss the ethics but to present the background [of war], leaving the reader to his own conclusion." The word "background," regardless of whether used figuratively or literally, refers to subordinate or secondary matters, as opposed to "foreground," referring to principal or important reasons or things. This is not what the book is. It is a history of wars, from ancient Greece to the early part of World War II. But trying to describe the campaigns of a period of over two thousand years within the compass of a single volume is impossible, if it is to be done efficiently. The descriptions given in Mr. Montross' work are sketchy and largely meaningless to a reader without prior knowledge of the events related.

Furthermore, many matters discussed have no relation to the chapter headings. Under "The Boxer Rebellion of 1900" (p. 660) is an account of Italy and Abyssinia of the 1890's. The account of the South African War of 1900 appears under "The Battles of Mukden and Tsushima" (p. 676). Some descriptions are not accurate, and almost none is critical. On page 10, a short item appears on the Battle of Marathon. No authority is quoted, but it appears to be taken from Herodotus, whose account has long been suspect and is certainly inaccurate. The accompanying map has no scale, and the text and map together do not fairly describe what really happened. On page 752, it is claimed that the American victory in the Meuse-Argonne battle on October 10, 1918, was due to General Mitchell's bombing of German dumps and troop concentrations. This was not the reason for the winning of the battle, which was due primarily to the magnificent fighting of the infantry and artillery, about which nothing is said. General William Mitchell is entitled to credit for his valiant co-operation, and for being a pioneer in air bombing. But at that date air bombing was quite inaccurate and was not decisive.

On page 602, General Robert E. Lee is credited with demonstrating that Napoleonic warfare was dead. The author then says that Napoleon's victories were made possible by the short range of smoothbore muskets and cannon, permitting the attacker to concentrate within a few hundred yards of the foe. This was a condition of the times and operated equally for, or against, both sides. It did not particularly favor Napoleon. His fame rests upon his ability to concentrate far from the enemy and in unexpected places, rather than on the battlefield. The author, on page 491, could have brought out the fact that Napoleon won the Marengo campaign by concentrating at Milan and Pavia, away from the field of battle and not where the Austrians had looked for him. The author mentions this but says not a word as to how Napoleon got to Milan. A poor map and an incomplete account do no justice to important factors in a remarkable campaign.

A series of chapters has been grouped into a part entitled "The Revolution in Tactics," which covers the War of American Independence and the following

Napoleonic Wars. Tactics change continuously. The period treated did not see a greater revolution than has occurred since, or had occurred previously.

The principle of leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions is all right provided the reader has the technical training to do so. This book is intended for the average citizen, on the ground that, regardless of sex and age, all are now involved in war, and are consequently interested in strategy and tactics. That may be true, but it does not make the ordinary individual competent to understand military art unless it is explained to him. And there are but few explanations.

*Manchester, New Hampshire*

CONRAD H. LANZA

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE WAR. By *Waverley Root*. Two volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1945. Pp. 645, 632. \$10.00 per set.)

It is unfortunate that Mr. Root allowed himself to indulge in this overpretentious title. Quite apart from being unjustified, it is also unnecessary in a work with so much in its favor. The book contains comparatively few real secrets, and many of those are of dubious authenticity. The stress which the title lays on this aspect serves to emphasize the faults rather than the true merits of the work, which is a useful if somewhat heterogeneous collection of material that is not readily available elsewhere to the general reader.

It should be made clear at the outset that Mr. Root has made no attempt to write a military history of the war. His concern is with developments behind the battle fronts, with the political and to some extent the economic aspects of the years from 1939 to the beginning of 1943. His emphasis is particularly on western Europe. There are chapters on certain aspects of affairs in the Balkans and the Middle and Far East, and an interesting outline of Russian defense preparations and strategy. But it is the countries of western continental Europe, particularly France, with which the author's background and sources make him most familiar, and to which the bulk of his attention is given.

To a large extent his narrative revolves around personalities. There are passages of a more general nature, such as those which deal with German economic policy in the occupied lands; but the main emphasis is political, and the approach is through the political figures who are chiefly involved. As a result, these pages enshrine as fine a collection of intriguers and quislings and traitors as the most cynical reader could desire. There are particularly detailed studies of the sordid figures of Vichy, which add up to a damning indictment not only of the ignominious policy of Pétain but also of the muddled and inglorious attitude of the State Department. There is also considerable material on the attempts by the Nazis to impose their New Order on Europe, and a good picture of what this meant in practice to the subject populations.

A considerable part of this information has been made public through the

writings of refugees or the reports and publications of the various governments in exile. That does not however detract from the usefulness of this work. Even though Mr. Root's additional and private sources vary a great deal in reliability, he has done a real service by bringing together such a large amount of material in a way that helps to provide a picture of conditions in those lands which felt the fullest impact of Axis aggression.

A work of such a character is naturally one to be read with interest but to be accepted with a considerable measure of caution. On more than one occasion the author indulges his fancy to the extent of building extremely farfetched conclusions on exceedingly slender evidence. One example is the strained deductive process by which he reaches the conclusion that the invasion of North Africa was not only known beforehand by the Germans but was actually encouraged by them. There are also faults of both omission and commission which will induce a certain hesitation in the judicious reader. In his opening chapter on the origins of the war, for instance, Mr. Root asserts his intention "to concern myself only with an island of jungle here and there, which earlier writers have somehow left uncharted" (p. 2). This promise is not fulfilled. In place of new material on such topics as the Russian negotiations, or Bonnet's frantic last-minute efforts to abandon France's pledge to Poland, there is a brief outline on familiar lines filled in with a few background items of gossip. Scattered through the book are numerous factual slips. It is not true that Britain hesitated to renew her Locarno guarantees to Belgium after Locarno was denounced by Hitler, or that it took Dunkirk to unseat Neville Chamberlain, or that Germany first acquired title to the Cameroons in 1911. Few of these errors are important in themselves; but a writer who claims credence for his secret revelations is under special obligation to be accurate in his treatment of known facts.

There are also serious faults of balance which the author himself recognizes. "I am acutely conscious of the shortcomings of this book," he says in his concluding chapter. "It is uneven in quality. Its various sections are not always developed in true proportion. . . . Its faults are those of a book which was not so much planned as planted, and allowed to grow" (p. 566). This is sound self-criticism, and if the reader keeps it in mind throughout, he may find these volumes both instructive and interesting. The critical student will be skeptical of many assertions and may disagree with many conclusions. The iniquity of the Allied acceptance of Darlan, for instance, is a controversial matter which is by no means so clear-cut as the author believes. But his basic attitude, on this as on all other questions in which matters of principle are involved, is sound and heartening; and his massing of the evidence against the antidemocratic forces both at home and abroad is not the least valuable feature of this work.

*University of Toronto*

EDGAR McINNIS



GEOPOLITICS: THE NEW GERMAN SCIENCE. By *Andrew Gyorgy*. [University of California Publications in International Relations, Volume III, No. 3.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1944. Pp. vi, 141-303. \$1.50.)

If this treatise were simply a study on the overdiscussed and overrated Haushofer's Geopolitik, one might well question its need, especially after Strausz-Hupé, Mattern, Whittlesey, Weigert, Dorpalen, and others have combed the field, and the reviewer himself thinks the topic hardly worth more than a critical essay. Fortunately, Gyorgy is doing more than just a recapitulation. He presents a thorough and annotated study of the important precursors of geopolitics and an equally well-documented analysis of the far-flung "scientific" activities and "institutional" setup of the whole "Munich International." While it does not reveal any sensationally new findings, it brings together in a slim volume a systematic evaluation of the roots and repercussions, "political" purposes and "scholarly" results of German geopolitics.

The historical part gives a precise summary of the environmental theories, of which Haushofer's was originally only a newer version before it developed into a scientific arm of Germany's race for world conquest. From Aristotle to Lucretius and Strabo in antiquity, to Bodin and Montesquieu in the beginnings of modern science, the author leads to the nineteenth century's fuller study of world geography and world politics as expressed in the political geography of Karl Ritter and Friedrich Ratzel's anthropogeography until he reaches Rudolf Kjellen's Geopolitik, Mackinder's theory of the land powers and the heartland, Friedrich Naumann's *Mitteleuropa*, and the Pan-Germanists Partsch and Penck. This short catalogue shows how many of the so-called Haushofer theories are not original with the general in whose hands they only received a political twist. In fact, used as a strategic weapon, the originally serious-minded science of modern political geography degenerated into a mere tool of propaganda.

It is one of the valuable contributions of Gyorgy that he shows not only this transformation but also succeeds in differentiating fact and fiction in the new geopolitical doctrine. Putting its ideas most appropriately into the frame of a determinist system, the author follows its four major specifications: space and its crucial concept of the *Lebensraum*, boundary and its organic frontier theory, political power and its division (by the self-appointed demiurges) of the world into renovating and decadent nations, and finally, the "practical" theory of total war's geostrategy. One might have wished that Geopolitik as an all-embracing *Weltanschauung* were discussed with equal emphasis, because not only would it explain the appeal of this pseudo science to so many young and susceptible minds but it also would have revealed fully its power and peril in a great breaking period of history.

The concluding part on the social and political implications of geopolitics gives a balanced view of its ambitious attempt to create a comprehensive "science of

the state" including geopsychology, geojurisprudence, geomedicine, etc., and to direct the political strategy in peace and, above all, in war. The added bibliographical survey, including a valuable list of the writings in German, French, English, and American literature will be welcomed by the student in the field.

Since the fashion of geopolitics has worn out, it may well be the appropriate time for an impartial historian to state what is left after the shouting is over. Gyorgy's book serves this purpose to full satisfaction.

*Wesleyan University*

SIGMUND NEUMANN

## Ancient and Medieval History

ROMAN MEDALLIONS. By *Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee*. [Numismatic Studies, No. 5.] (New York: American Numismatic Society. 1944. Pp. 268, plates. \$10.00.)

THIS book, attractively published by the American Numismatic Society, is a preliminary study for a complete corpus of Roman medallions which Miss Toynbee is preparing. The excellent illustrations are in the main a supplement to the material available in Gneecchi's monumental work, *I Medaglioni Romani* (Milan, 1912). They include types that Gneecchi did not illustrate, many of them found since 1912. Even in this preliminary volume Miss Toynbee's text is in many details an advance over Gneecchi's rather summary discussion. She defines the unsatisfactory term "medallion," used for pieces of bronze, gold, and silver primarily designed for presentation to individuals. She holds that many of the examples illustrated by Gneecchi are not properly medallions. She considers mints and provenances and points out that, while many of the finest examples come from Rome, mainly from the Catacombs, where they were imbedded in the walls to serve as guides for visitors, examples found outside Rome are now far more numerous than they were when Gneecchi wrote. Discoveries of hoards of medallions, which Gneecchi believed to be rare, are now well attested. The most important is the great Arras hoard found in 1922, of which unfortunately the largest examples were melted down before their genuineness was established. But twenty-one examples, including twenty unique types mainly of the early fourth century, are now known from this hoard.

The importance of medallions as instruments of propaganda for the empire is stressed in the chapters on the purposes of the issues, their historical development, and their relation to politics and religion. It is interesting that with the development of absolutism the emperor and his attributes become increasingly prominent on the medallions. In the chapter on "Medallions and Religion" one might question Miss Toynbee's suggestion that the representations of Roman gods on second and third century medallions indicate that the selected individuals for whom the issues were made had faith in Roman deities.

While for imperial propaganda the medallions are chiefly of value because they supplement representations on coins, it is in the field of art that they make a contribution that is all their own. Miss Toynbee, who was attracted to the study of medallions through her well-known work on Hadrianic art, has excellent discussions of style and technique and a chapter on the relations between the scenes on the medallions and other forms of art. The medallions could, she says, be described as "a portable Museum of Fine Art, consisting of a series of miniature bas reliefs, more closely related in technique and composition to the works of the painter, relief sculptor and gem-engraver than to those of the coin-die sinker." There is a delightful series of plates which reproduce under a new arrangement material already available in Gneecchi. One can see at a glance the growing realism of the portraiture on the obverse together with the development of stereotyped scenes on the reverse. The reviewer hopes that, for the convenience of readers, Miss Toynbee will, when she publishes her corpus, put the descriptions of the plates beside the plates.

*Bryn Mawr College*

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

THE DOMESDAY MONACHORUM OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY. Edited with an Introduction by *David C. Douglas*, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Leeds. (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society. 1944. Pp. 127, plates.)

THIS handsome and scholarly book, in my opinion, can be taken as a model for all similar publications. The text of the *Domesday Monachorum*, sensibly transcribed and provided with explanatory footnotes, is followed by a photographic reproduction of the original manuscript. And the record itself is preceded by a lucid introduction, designed to appraise it from every historical point of view. The Royal Historical Society and Mr. Douglas are to be heartily congratulated on the result of their fine co-operation.

With regard to the paleographical significance of the *Domesday Monachorum*, I can do no better than quote the words of the editor (p. 3). It is "written in three hands separated from each other by intervals of approximately half a century. They may, respectively, be roughly assigned to about the years 1100, 1150, and 1200. Since, moreover, each of them must be adjudged an excellent example of medieval calligraphy the manuscript which contains them illustrates the development of book-hands in a great monastic scriptorium during a notable age of English handwriting."

With regard to the *Domesday Monachorum* as a source for the social and institutional history of medieval England, something more needs to be said. Until now the complete text has never been published, although one famous portion of it was edited by William Somner in his *Antiquities of Canterbury* (1640) and more recently translated by Miss Neilson in *The Victoria County History of Kent*,

III (1932), 255 ff. As Mr. Douglas remarks, however, "The texts comprised in this book fall into four main groups: I. Documents relating to Kentish churches. . . . II. Surveys of the lands of the archbishop of Canterbury, of the monks of Christ Church, of the bishopric of Rochester, and of various other Kentish landowners. . . . III. A list of the knights of the archbishop. . . . IV. A number of documents concerning the affairs of Christ Church and its property in the latter part of the reign of Henry II." All four of these groups are thoroughly discussed by Mr. Douglas in his introduction (pp. 5-73)—a discussion which should prove valuable not only to the specialist in Kentish history but to anyone concerned with the ecclesiastical and military institutions of twelfth century England as a whole.

Especially interesting to me is the third section of Mr. Douglas' introduction, entitled "The Genesis of Domesday"; for there he seeks to defend certain opinions that have recently been challenged by Mr. V. H. Galbraith (*English Historical Review*, LVII, 161 ff.). In spite of what Mr. Douglas presents to the contrary, it seems to me, Mr. Galbraith has the better of the argument. I cannot follow Mr. Douglas when he reasons (p. 23) that Domesday Book could not have existed in 1086 because, allegedly in the next year, the compiler of the Christ Church survey used only the "original returns" or a "preliminary recension" of them. And I quite agree with Mr. Galbraith that Domesday Book was essentially a feudal survey rather than a "geld inquest" or, as Mr. Douglas declares (p. 25), the result of a comprehensive investigation by a "constructive statesman" intent on learning everything possible about England under Edward the Confessor. For a clearer understanding of the problem here vaguely indicated, the reader will have to turn to Mr. Galbraith's article as well as to Mr. Douglas' introduction. Both of them well deserve his attention.

Cornell University

CARL STEPHENSON

VASSI AND FIDELES IN THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE. By *Charles Edwin Odegaard*, Associate in History, University of Illinois, Lieutenant Commander, U.S.N.R. [Harvard Historical Monographs, XIX.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1945. Pp. xi, 166.)

THE purpose of this little book is to elucidate the terms *vassi* and *fideles* as used in Carolingian times (751-888), the earliest period for which there is available any considerable amount of source material. The author's method is to let the texts "speak for themselves in their own words . . . [so as to] disprove any of the thought patterns which may wrongly have been attributed to them." On this basis he takes exception to the interpretations of such authorities as Waitz, Guilhaumez, Mitteis, and Fustel de Coulanges. He analyzes the documents, and, in this reviewer's opinion, justifies his narrow interpretation of *vassi*, as a "restricted class of royal retainers whose special function was military service." The main body of

the argument is directed against the broad interpretations of the term *vassi* as it appears in certain texts. His constructive argument rests on evidences from other Carolingian documents, and is cumulatively convincing. An equally cogent chapter on *fideles* clarifies the status of this class of retainers.

All in all the book provides a substantial, yet readable, bloc of material from which one can obtain an accurate picture of Carolingian political and social structure. The king apparently relied on a relatively small and compact class, the *vassi*, for military service. The *fideles* included *vassi*, and also administrative officials of both higher and lower rank than the *vassi*. There were clerical *fideles* (abbots, bishops, archbishops, and even papal legates); also lay *fideles* (called *primores* or *procures* or *optimates*) of various social levels (dukes, counts, and even subject foreign princes). Although the *fideles* were not exclusively the king's men, usually they commended themselves to him and considered that he was their *senior* as well as *rex*. Most of them rendered him special governmental services that can be classified as aid (of an administrative character) and counsel. In a still broader category were the *homines*, i.e., laymen or clerics of both high and low rank who had commended themselves to a *senior* (usually not the king). Below and beyond the three higher classes of retainers was the rank and file of the people (*populus*) who owed the king a certain loyalty but who rarely saw or served him, save perhaps in local campaigns.

Ample footnotes and appendixes, with generous quotations from the sources, give this work solidity and depth. A check of several footnote quotations revealed only minor inaccuracies of a mechanical nature. In the main body of the text the author avoids technical jargon so skillfully that the lay reader can understand (and perhaps enjoy) the reading. In fact, our one criticism is an occasional tendency to write down to an almost sophomoric level of textbookishness in summaries or conclusions which repeat, unnecessarily in our opinion, material that has already been adequately presented.

University of North Carolina

LOREN C. MACKINNEY

A DOCUMENTED HISTORY OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER: FROM THE BIRTH OF ST. FRANCIS TO THE DIVISION OF THE ORDER UNDER LEO X, 1182-1517. By *Raphael M. Huber*, Associate Professor of Church History, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. (Milwaukee: Privately printed. 1945. Pp. xxxiv, 1028. \$7.50.)

THIS book, whose author is a dignitary of the Franciscan Conventuals, is divided into three parts, the first two of which trace the development of the Friars Minor to the final division of the order into Observants and Conventuals in 1517; the third is made up of ten studies on matters Franciscan of varying interest and importance. There are four indexes: of persons, of authors and artists, of places, objects, and doctrines, and of papal documents; and chronological tables

of ministers general, general chapters, vicars general of the Observants, popes, cardinal protectors, and Franciscan saints and "blessed." In the narrative portions the author handles successfully the problem of combining chronological with topical treatment; and the great array of bibliographical references that he provides—in footnotes throughout and more particularly in the first two studies in Part III—will be of service to students of Franciscan history. The material could have been made into a more valuable work if it had been objectively treated and had received more rigorous editorial supervision.

From his foreword on, Father Huber champions the cause of the Conventuals "in contradistinction to those members of the Order who lived in hermitages and were primarily intent on their own spiritual welfare." Again and again, it is true, he shows how worldliness and laxity increased among the friars; yet in general he shows himself unsympathetic toward those who tried to stem that tide. The Spiritual Franciscans receive short shrift: "proud religious who tried to shield their self-will and stubbornness under the veil of poverty and zeal"; the brutality with which they were treated by John XXII draws no protest. The Observants, not unnaturally, fare better than do the Spirituals; yet Huber seems to approve of Sixtus IV's double dealing (it was Sixtus IV who called the Observants "lousy friars"), accepting at face value the pope's expressions of affection for the Observants whom he was planning to suppress; and he is somewhat ill at ease when he contemplates the pre-eminence which the Observants have acquired by canonical legislation. From the year 1368 back to St. Francis the term Conventual can, in his opinion, be identified with the term Friar Minor; and he is sure, too, that for the next century and a half—to the final separation effected by Leo X—the Observants were always subject more or less to the Conventuals. "Conventualism, meaning thereby the Minor Conventuals . . . cannot and must not be separated or distinguished from the Order Friars Minor in its existence *prior* to 1517" (p. 231n; cf. pp. 503 ff.). Whether this be true or not, and there are Franciscan historians who think it is not true, is in a measure beside the point: Huber allows his judgment to color his narrative. A like coloring, as might be expected, is to be found in his account of the controversy between Lewis the Bavarian and the papacy, a controversy in which the Franciscan minister general, Michael of Cesena, played a not unimportant part.

There are other passages where one might say that Father Huber has allowed his zeal to outrun discretion: as when, for example, he says, "These Grey Friars were the men who made Oxford and Cambridge," or that Julius of Speyer "is considered the greatest of the historical and liturgical poets," or tells as sober truth the story of the bilocation of St. Anthony of Padua. A somewhat unusual notion of what constitutes historical evidence underlies the sentence, "In confirmation thereof one need but read the life or Second Nocturn of the Feast of St. Elizabeth of Portugal."

There is much sound stuff in this book and it gives evidence of great industry

on the part of its author; that makes more regrettable the fact that at times the author's judgment and at other times the slipshod work of printer and proof-reader (who have served him very badly) deprive it of much of its potential value.

Washington and Jefferson College

ALFRED H. SWEET

SOCIOLOGY OF THE RENAISSANCE. By *Alfred Von Martin*. [International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, Karl Mannheim, Editor.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 100. \$2.50.)

THIS is a smooth translation of a work first published in Germany in 1932. In the preface the author states his thesis: that the Renaissance is as a rule studied as a "period of fine art and great intellects," but that he is bringing out the role of the *haute bourgeoisie* in Italy, particularly in Florence, from the beginning of its supremacy until it deteriorated under the influence of prosperity and security. Of its decay, Machiavelli, a "sixteenth-century Oswald Spengler" (p. 65) gives a diagnosis "from a proto-Fascist point of view" (p. ix), dreaming of a "Third Reich" (p. 69). There is a certain stimulation in this social and economic approach (cf. Hans Baron, "A Sociological Interpretation of the Early Renaissance at Florence" in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for October, 1939, with its reference to other related articles by Dr. Baron).

The slender book shows the roots of the author's scholarship to be solidly embedded in history in spite of his efforts to submerge it by rationing citations and relegating them to the end of the book. The "New Dynamic" (title of the first half of the book) rested on *virtù*—greatness of any kind, traditional Christian morality to the contrary notwithstanding. The *haute bourgeoisie* had established a plutocracy at Florence by the *Ordinamenti della Giustizia* in 1293, excluding the lesser guilds from power. Of this new elite the humanists became the retainers (pp. 34, 46), while the nobility tended to enter commerce and merge in the new order of mercantilist rulers. The nature of the state was adjusted to the nature of society (p. 11). Religion was regarded as "opening an account with God" (pp. 16-17); art reflected the new dynamic with its absorption in technical problems such as linear perspective, its acquiescence in being the expression of civic pride, its sometimes vulgar irreverence, and its democracy, which was expressed above all in the naked figure (p. 26). Science was likewise conditioned by the requirements of the ruling class, which was interested in navigation, ship-building, and the construction of towns and fortresses (p. 23). An alliance with the church was also concluded; for the church had led the bourgeoisie in breaking down the idea of membership in a great Christian family (p. 18), in instituting the new court society (at Avignon, p. 70), and in disrupting the old economic order ("papal finance became the pace-maker of Renaissance capitalism," p. 78). Moreover religion and capitalism alike endorsed the career open to talents. Adjustment was reached on profits and interest; and, as for theology, *virtù* meant that



man is the captain of his soul. Luther and Calvin, however, were arrayed against capitalism (p. 91), as was heresy in the Italian communes after the middle of the thirteenth century (p. 79).

*University of Idaho*

FREDERIC C. CHURCH

## Modern European History

THE WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF OLIVER CROMWELL. With an Introduction, Notes, and an account of his life by *Wilbur Cortez Abbott*, Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History, Emeritus, Harvard University; Research Associate in History, Yale University; with the assistance of Catherine D. Crane and Madeleine R. Gleason. Volume III, THE PROTECTORATE, 1653-1655. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1945. Pp. xvi, 978. \$5.00.)

THE third of the four volumes planned by Professor Abbott appears six years after the publication of the second (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLV, 859). It is a triumph to have achieved and published so massive and scholarly a volume in a period so perturbed, and every student will anxiously wish that Professor Abbott may be granted quieter days, and continued good health, to finish his great undertaking. The scale of his work necessarily grows as Oliver Cromwell becomes increasingly immersed in events, domestic, European, and American; and it has taken the longest and fullest of the three volumes so far published to cover the two and a half years from April, 1653, to October, 1655. The explanation lies largely in the new and wide scope of foreign affairs in this period; and here it may be noticed that Professor Abbott has drawn largely (and for the first time) on European archives and on Cromwell's instructions to his agents on the Continent and in the colonies. (Two appendixes give the text of his various treaties of 1654-55 and of his diplomatic instructions and correspondence during that period.) The new volume also contains the records of a large number of conversations between Cromwell and his visitors—partly English Fifth Monarchists and Quakers, and partly the foreign ministers resident in London; and Professor Abbott notes that these records have not, as far as he knows, been collected in one place before and that many of them have not been hitherto translated. These records, as he justly suggests, are of particular value for the understanding of Cromwell.

There are four illustrations in the present, as there were in the preceding volume. The most striking is that which forms the frontispiece, "Cromwell on the White Horse," from a very rare print in the author's possession. (It makes one think of the Book of Revelation: "Behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow [only Cromwell in the picture has a baton] . . . and he went forth conquering and to conquer.") There is no index to the volume, but that will no doubt come at the end of the fourth volume, as the index to the first two

volumes came at the end of the second. For the rest, the apparatus of footnotes and references, and the whole massive technique of scholarship, attain the same high standard which Professor Abbott has set for himself throughout.

In his preface he reiterates the purpose which he had already expressed in the prefaces to previous volumes: "to record as fully as may be the facts of his life, great and small . . . to produce what may be called an itinerary or a chronology of his path through life." But in writing the itinerary he pauses, again and again, to make reflections and to suggest judgments. He confesses, in his preface, that the record of 1653-55 "may even serve in some measure as a disillusionment." In the course of the pages of his text he sees the shadow of the word "dictator" looming again and again; he sees, too, the tangled thread in which religious faith is intertwined with worldly calculation; and finally he sees, to use his own words, "a tired man . . . fighting . . . a losing battle against the spirit of the people he governed . . . a weary Titan struggling toward his goal." One wonders whether Professor Abbott is not here looking at Oliver through spectacles—the spectacles of a contemporary age of dictatorships (now lying in ruins), the spectacles, perhaps, of his own personal disillusionment. But Oliver could recover his trumpet tones and speak nobly and manfully to the very end. And was he ever a dictator *in the spirit*? No doubt he had to act as a constable to keep order in his parish during a "state of siege." But to have read and pondered, as the reviewer has done, the three chapters on the Parliament of September 3, 1653, to January 22, 1655, is to see Oliver faced by a real Parliament—and facing it otherwise than as a dictator would.

The suggestion may thus be offered—but it is offered with great diffidence—that Professor Abbott allows a personal equation to color some of the judgments in this volume. It may perhaps be also suggested that he has allowed the chronological framework to become so full and so exactly detailed that its multitudinous mesh almost hides Cromwell himself at times. It is the *ipse dixit, ipse scripsit, ipse fecit* of the man that one craves. Another result of the method of chronological treatment is that it results in the handling of a single theme (*e.g.*, the institution and the action of the major generals) being scattered over separate pages and necessarily left disconnected. The choice between the pursuit of chronology and the connected handling of a theme must always be a hard choice—as the compilation of so large a volume must equally be a heavy tax on the author's style and the lucidity of his expression.

In its general substance, and in the new material which it furnishes, this third volume is perhaps the most helpful, and the most instructive, of all the three. Not only does it show a new ruler wrestling with the domestic problem of the basis of his rule but it also shows the emergence of Cromwell's ideas of the "Protestant Interest" (as a scheme and basis of foreign policy) and of the "Western Design" (as a scheme and basis for an "Empire of England"). The story of the "Western Design," here first set out in all its details, will deeply interest both American

and English readers; and the whole of the record of Cromwell's action and policy in the West Indies and the North American colonies is here illustrated by matter of the foremost importance. Those two years and a half from April, 1653, to October, 1655, were great and crucial years. No wonder that they should have filled a packed volume of nearly one thousand pages.

The reviewer would offer one petition to the author. Could he, in his last volume, put the date of the events recorded at the top of each page? It would greatly help the reader. And could he (but this is a small point) insert in the table of contents not only the titles of chapters but also the subheadings within the chapters and the pages on which they begin? That too would help.

*Cambridge, England*

ERNEST BARKER

VOLTAIRE: MAN OF JUSTICE. By *Adolph Meyer*. (New York: Howell, Soskin. 1945. Pp. 395. \$3.50.)

THE sins of blurb writers should not of course be visited upon the heads of authors, nor yet upon the equally innocent reader. Ethical considerations apart, the aesthetics of the case call for a protest against the publication of extravagant claims which succeed only in imparting to the advertising of literary productions the meretricious spuriousness of the medicine man hawking some miraculous cure for snake bite. What specifically of the statement on the jacket that "Voltaire has come down to us as one of the most misunderstood men in history," or that "this important biography rescues Voltaire from the false legend"?

Mr. Meyer may indeed have written an important biography, although this reviewer is otherwise persuaded. Certainly he has not rescued Voltaire from any false legend, for the simple reason that Voltaire has not come down to us as one of the most misunderstood men in history. Mr. Meyer has written an interesting and eminently readable biography, one that doubtless will give pleasure to the reader even if it adds nothing or at least little to the understanding of Voltaire that was not already available in a half-dozen recent studies. Moreover, if the title, "Voltaire, Man of Justice," should lead the reader to await a re-examination of that fascinating career in the light of a new central thesis, it would be a most misleading title. The author does give us the man of justice. But not too much of him, for, out of a volume of 386 pages, he devotes to the Calas case, which by any standard is the classical illustration of Voltaire's efforts to redress wrong, only three. What he does, and quite correctly, is to give us a number of well-known Voltaires—the gay young blade, the prodigious promoter of his own writings, the energetic and successful man of affairs, the uncrowned king of European intellectuals—and a few lesser Voltaires as well, all of whom according to a combination of personal interests and the ideas and aspirations of a generous and humane century were men of justice.

Thus there is breadth to this study, considerable intelligence, and occasionally

the lively color that comes of quoting those quick, flashing phrases of personal correspondence which, more than pages of formal analysis, reveal the springs of personality. There is, however, less depth than breadth, more oversimplification than investigation, and an absence of systematic presentation of Voltaire's intellectual growth. Above all, the hard meat of Voltairean thought is too covered with the lard of anecdote and trivia. Casanova at Ferney receives one page, Boswell's visit to the "Patriarch of Ferney" almost two pages, the youthful contretemps with the Chevalier de Rohan five pages, and the enormously important *Essai sur les mœurs* barely as much as Casanova.

Washington, D. C.

LEO GERSHOY

BELGIUM. Edited by *Jan-Albert Goris*. [The United Nations Series, Robert J. Kerner, General Editor.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1945. Pp. xx, 478. \$5.00.)

THE story of the Belgians from the rise of the urban democracies of Flanders, Hanaut, and Liège, to the tragic catastrophe of 1940 is an epic of extraordinary extent and significance. No similarly small segment of Europe has suffered and accomplished more. The Belgians repeatedly have recovered—and will again—from conquest and devastation. Their art and industry made unforgettable contributions to European civilization. Scarcely less important have been their contributions in the realm of government. Not only did the sturdy burghers of old build a habit of local self-government which has survived the centralizing tendencies of subsequent centuries but modern Belgians have given us the perfect example of constitutional monarchy linked with parliamentary democracy, not to mention extended experimentation with such devices as proportional representation, compulsory voting, and the management of a now successful tropical colony nearly eight times the size of the mother country. There is a great deal to be said about Belgium and the Belgians—a great deal that the American people ought to know about them.

This addition to the "United Nations Series" of the University of California Press is therefore both timely and welcome. It is, however, not an epic but a symposium to which twenty-eight authors have made contributions, as usual of somewhat uneven merit. It has been competently edited by Jan-Albert Goris, a Flemish litterateur of considerable reputation who has had a long official connection with the Belgian government and who since 1941 has been Belgian commissioner of information in the United States. The work covers a prodigious field: history, government, politics, science, agriculture, economics, transportation, education, religion, art, architecture, literature, music, and seven sections on the Congo. The final two chapters deal with Belgium during the recent German occupation and in the postwar world. As might be expected, there is some overlapping. The articles, especially those on science, art, architecture, and literature, in the effort

to be both brief and comprehensive, have become little more than catalogues of names, most of them meaningless to American readers. Space limitations have likewise reduced the history which glows in the pages of Pirenne to a dry and sterile chronicle. Most of the authors are Belgians, and in some cases, notably the chapter on "Constitutional and Political Structure," have failed to realize how little Americans know about Belgium. These, however, are incidental defects in what is as a whole a thorough and genuinely informative compendium of things Belgian, which should prove of great value as a work of ready reference.

Certain chapters stand out as effective interpretations of Belgium to the English-speaking public. Among these are Mr. Goris' "Belgium between the Two World Wars" and René Hislaire's readable exposition of the issues dividing Belgian political parties. President van Cauwelaert of the chamber of representatives, former Premier Theunis, Ministers Wauters and Vleeschauwer have added authoritative chapters. Henri Grégoire, eminent humanist of the University of Brussels, is responsible for an admirably lucid chapter on "Education in Belgium," in which he does full justice to the stimulating activities of the C.R.B. educational foundation. Charles Leirens' account of "Belgian Music" is lively and interesting. George W. Carpenter, a Protestant missionary, has critically analyzed the Congo educational system, and Max Horn, counselor of the Congo government in the United States and Canada, has dealt constructively with the economic development of that colony. Former Premier Paul Van Zeeland's concluding chapter is an eloquent statement of Belgium's postwar prospects and of the enlightened policies through which she must live again.

Hartford, Connecticut

THOMAS H. REED

POLAND. Edited by *Bernadotte E. Schmitt*, Andrew MacLeish Distinguished Service Professor of Modern History in the University of Chicago. [The United Nations Series, Robert J. Kerner, General Editor.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1945. Pp. xix, 500. \$5.00.)

THIS is a symposium in the "United Nations Series" of which Professor Robert J. Kerner is general editor. Thirteen of the authors are Polish scholars and nine are Americans. Professor Schmitt, the editor of this volume and author of a chapter on the rebirth of Poland after World War II, has done an admirable job in knitting together these various contributions into a unified whole. The volume should prove to be the standard handbook on Poland, even if that country appears headed for a fate similar to that it suffered after the Napoleonic Wars.

Professor Oscar Halecki, leading historian, formerly of the University of Warsaw, now of Fordham, contributes three chapters to this book—those dealing with the geography and early history of Poland, and a chapter dealing with religious life. Professors Nowak and Orvis fill in other historical chapters. Polish authorities deal with constitutional development, Poland's economic policies and problems between the two wars, and social progress. There are chapters on cul-

tural development, ranging from education to music, on American-Polish relations and foreign relations.

It is difficult for any symposium to maintain a uniform level. Thus the chapter on constitutional development is thin and inadequate in comparison with the two competent chapters on Polish political parties by Professor Malbone W. Graham. In view of current political difficulties the volume might well have given more details concerning the Curzon line and the Constitution of 1935, which Polish "fellow-travellers" today declare to have been illegally adopted. Was or was not Poland a fascist state as some of its critics assert? Professor S. Harrison Thomson, himself an authority on Czechoslovakia, has contributed an admirable chapter on Polish foreign policy.

The most tragic period in Polish history started with the outbreak of World War II. It is too soon to write this history with full authority, but we know enough to form certain opinions. Stanislaw Strezeteki, formerly of the Polish foreign office, tells a moving story of these recent years. He points out that had Poland capitulated to Germany in August, 1939, "the history of the last five years would have taken a totally different course." He might have added that Poland even under Foreign Minister Beck resisted Nazi proffers to join in war against Russia in return for receiving the Ukraine. Polish resistance gave Russia time to prepare for the Nazi onslaught. But as a result of subsequent Soviet policy, numerous Poles now wonder whether the resistance was worth it.

Mr. Strezeteki points out that during World War II Germany deported about 3,000,000 Poles for compulsory labor and adopted for the remaining Polish population a considered policy of extermination. Soviet policy in eastern Poland was almost as ruthless. The author says that Russia deported a minimum of 1,500,000 Poles to Siberia and elsewhere and that many of them perished. He traces the formation of the government-in-exile and the changed situation produced by the German attack on Russia, represented by the Russo-Polish pact of December, 1941. Despite the reputation for opportunism and romanticism gained by the Pilsudski colonels, Poland during the present war has shown a courage and conscience not exceeded by any of the United Nations. Nevertheless it seems destined to a worse fate than even Finland, who, unlike Poland, has fought two wars against Russia since 1939.

This book does not present the details which will enable the objective reader to make up his mind as to the validity of Russia's present demands on Poland. Perhaps this is too much to expect from a historical work. Moreover, the science of history cannot portray the quality of suffering endured by this people, nor their heroism. For this we need such classics as Jan Karski's *Story of a Secret State* and the novels yet to be written. Nevertheless something of the spirit of Poland is indicated by Professor Zawacki, who writes at the end of his chapter:

Sustained by the Polish dogma of patriotism, the Polish people still hold to their noble Christian political gospel; their pride in their greater historical and cultural

past only strengthens their conviction in the continuity of that heritage into the future. By their conduct, the Poles have shown that national spirit today, as in the past, demands no reward for virtue and no pity for martyrdom, but only justice and honor among men and nations.

In an epilogue Professor Kerner adds:

No one who has reflected upon the history of the Polish nation and tried to understand its achievements in the past and in recent times can fail to observe its inexhaustible energy, its unquenchable spirit, its abundant resources. What a great and costly mistake it would be for anyone to believe that such a nation could be deprived of its freedom, that it could be kept long under subjugation, that it might lose its identity! The Polish nation can be ruled only by its own kind and by its own choice in line with its historic and cultural traditions. Otherwise, there can be no peace in eastern Europe, nor for that matter in Europe as a whole.

I hope the faith of Professors Zawacki and Kerner will be justified. But there is something new in the world which may prevent a repetition of the history of Polish nationalism during the nineteenth century. That is the grinding and all-pervasive techniques of modern totalitarianism, whether of a Soviet or a Nazi variety, which can systematically liquidate the elite in any democratic society. Partly because of the weakness of United States policy, Poland today seems destined to share a fate similar to that of the Ukraine. In any case this volume will remain as a monument to the past achievements of a country which, with all its defects, struggled to maintain the concept of Western individualism in the heart of Central Europe.

Richmond, Massachusetts

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

A SHORT HISTORY OF GERMANY. By *S. H. Steinberg*. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. xi, 304. \$3.00.)

REGARDING the "Germanic" migrations as no part of "German" history, the author begins his narrative with the breakup of Charlemagne's empire and carries it down to September 1, 1939. The Holy Roman Empire is thus his central theme, and Greater Prussia (the Bismarckian empire) his *bête noir*. "The forcible dissolution by Prussia of the German Confederation meant the virtual end of Germany as this word had been understood for a thousand years. The term Germany . . . henceforth was used for the centralistic power-state of Greater Prussia padded out with those remainders of the old system which were allowed to vegetate on Prussian sufferance" (p. 220).

There is a Carlylean emphasis on dynastic rulers, but in this case it is the Habsburgs and minor princelets, and not the Hohenzollerns, who carry the ball. The six centuries from 962 to 1555 are covered in ninety pages. It is a dynastic kaleidoscope packed with so many constantly shifting names and events that it is tough reading, in spite of the author's clever effort to clarify it for Anglo-Saxon readers by interweaving references to English history. From the sixteenth century



the pace slackens, and fuller and better treatment affords greater interest and understanding. It is still mainly political history, and as such is remarkably clear, concise, and comprehensive, considering that the whole book has less than three hundred pages. There is, however, practically nothing on religious ideas, nothing on art, music, or philosophy except a few incidental names, and very little on social or economic development. These are important phases of German development which presumably will find more satisfactory treatment in the larger history of Germany which we understand Knopf is soon to publish for Dr. Veit Valentin.

Though Mr. Steinberg reflects—perhaps too much—current antipathies to Germany and especially to Prussia, he gives the reader a far better understanding of the development which led to Hitler than do the pages of E. F. Henderson or Pinnow. His volume is a masterpiece of condensation, achieved in part by omission of all military campaigns (though important battles are mentioned with name and date), and in part by an admirable economy of words and by broad general surveys. There are a good many minor inaccuracies. To the excellent index and the dozen helpful sketch-maps there might well have been added a few clarifying genealogical tables.

*Harvard University*

SIDNEY B. FAY

MILITARY OCCUPATION AND THE RULE OF LAW: OCCUPATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE RHINELAND, 1918-1923. By *Ernst Fraenkel*. [Studies of the Institute of World Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 267. \$3.50.)

Dr. Fraenkel's useful study emphasizes governmental institutions. Within this area he has done a thorough job. He divides his book appropriately into two sections, the first dealing with the armistice period and the second with the peace period. In each section he goes thoroughly into the agreements among the Allies, the institutions set up and the more important difficulties encountered in co-operation and administration. He does not deal in personalities, for this is an analytical study rather than narrative history. He omits also the social aspect of the occupation, including, for example, such problems as fraternization and public health. He has made full use of the sources and includes in his work not only a useful bibliography but a table of cases. His approach, as his title suggests, is primarily legal and it is in this area that his most important contribution is made.

The following sentences suggest Dr. Fraenkel's argument and include the material of greatest interest to the general historian.

In its final form that regime was a symbolic mixture of "realism" and "idealism." It represented the exercise of power politics against the conquered enemy, and at the same time in applying Wilsonian principles to the field of military occupation, it reflected an almost unlimited belief in the force of law. . . . The experiment of 1919 was undertaken in the course of a social revolution which the framers of the new order misinterpreted as a transitory phenomenon. . . . What became

world-famous as appeasement policy, twenty years later, was actually begun in 1919, when the occupying powers in the Rhineland took the part of the German reactionaries, bureaucrats, and Militarists in their fight against the progressive forces of the German democratic revolution. . . . The Rhineland occupation, which was planned as a model of legally restricted exercise of military power, was used by the Germans as one of their most efficient propaganda weapons against the Versailles treaty. By contrasting the procedures that were actually followed in the occupied territory with the principles that had found expression in the programmatic Rhineland Agreement, the Germans tried to convince public opinion in the western democracies that they had fallen victim to an unprecedented deception. Their propaganda against the Rhineland occupation represents a rehearsal of their attacks against the validity of the Versailles treaty and the binding force of the disarmament program. . . . The astonishing success of the German propaganda campaign was due to the disunity of the nations that participated in the Rhineland occupation.

Aside from this general argument the most useful parts of the book have to do with the courts: the prosecution of war criminals, the administration of justice and judicial review. The weakness of the book lies in the fact that Dr. Fraenkel treats the Rhineland occupation as an isolated episode. He makes no attempt to put the undertaking in the setting of other occupations in modern history or of the general evolution of thought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries regarding military government. It is a book intended obviously for the makers of present military government policy in Germany. Legal officers and students of international law will be the ones chiefly interested in it.

*Yale University*

RALPH H. GABRIEL

AXIS RULE IN OCCUPIED EUROPE: LAWS OF OCCUPATION, ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENT, PROPOSALS FOR REDRESS. By *Raphaël Lemkin*. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, Washington.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. xxxviii, 674. \$7.50.)

THE author of the present volume has made an able analysis of the texts of the laws and decrees of the Axis powers and their puppet regimes for the purpose of showing in what respects the Axis authorities departed from the standards established by international law, and especially from those standards established in the Convention Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land signed at the Hague, October, 1907, and ratified by Germany, Hungary, Japan, and Rumania, but not by Italy and Bulgaria. The fact that Germany and Japan ratified the convention with a reservation of Article 44 ("A belligerent is forbidden to force the occupants of territory occupied by it to furnish information about the troops of the other belligerent, or about its means of defense.") does not affect the general responsibility of these two powers.

Dr. Lemkin discusses what he considers the techniques of occupation under

nine chapter headings. The present review will attempt to summarize his main conclusions under those headings and will place in parentheses the number of the article of the Hague Convention which the particular actions of the Axis powers have violated. This procedure will be adopted in order to obviate a repetition of phrases.

Germany effected many changes in the administration of occupied countries, sometimes by the device of the incorporated area, sometimes by direct administration by *Gauleiters*, Reich commissioners and governors, and military courts, sometimes by establishing puppet governments and sub-cabinet governments. In many cases it usurped sovereignty, *e.g.*, by the wording of its decrees, by making Germans living in incorporated areas become German citizens, and by introducing military conscription in Polish territories (45, 52).

The Nazi authorities gave their police special authority. From the decisions of the Gestapo there was no review by administrative courts. The German police and SS held a dominant position in the administration, and in the Netherlands were permitted to "deviate from existing regulations"; the police might "impose penalties without judicial procedure" or even take over "courts martial." They were empowered to liquidate politically undesirable persons and Jews. Polish police had no right to act if one of the parties involved was a German. The terrorism of the German police is well enough known, but to see matters described in cold legal terminology creates in one perhaps an even greater sense of indignation. Dr. Lemkin treats the problem of whether the officers might invoke the plea of superior orders and gives his reasons for deciding that if one has voluntarily joined such an organization which "approves and glorifies such crimes" he should be tried as a war criminal.

German authorities made extensive inroads into law. They introduced German law into many parts of the Continent. They changed the local law (43), changed the Netherlands civil code in flagrant disregard of family rights (46), and introduced the principle that a person could be punished "if the act seemed merely analogous to any punishable act prohibited by law," a proceeding which provoked much criticism in legal circles outside of Germany as early at least as 1937. The authorities introduced retroactive punishments and presumption of future guilt. Lemkin well notes that the wholesale introduction of German law into occupied territories "cannot be justified by the occupant on the ground of military necessity"; it has no immediate relation to the war but is obviously "a political objective" (43). German regulations prohibited Polish judges from exercising mercy and parole, provided for the death penalty for sheltering Jews, and in this way violated both the law of nations and the laws of humanity.

The Germans established military courts, special courts whose jurisdiction varied from country to country, and courts martial. Defendants had their insecurity heightened by the lack of finality of decision since a Reich commissioner could set aside judgments within a given time. Local courts of occupied countries were

"either abolished completely or limited in their jurisdiction and organization," and were most strictly supervised (43). While international law permitted a degree of sequestration, German authorities went far beyond the limitations normally observed. They confiscated movable and real estate property (53). So extensive were property spoliations that it is estimated that millions of cases will have to be decided during the period of reconstruction. Many thousands of colonists were settled on properties of dispossessed persons, making the question of unscrambling legal titles a most serious and far-reaching one. Dr. Lemkin offers a plan for the establishment of a national property restitution agency to comprise investigators, committee, and tribunal, and an international property restitution agency to consist of investigators and an international property restitution tribunal. These bodies, he urges, should act with the utmost speed so that the economic life of the occupied countries may be resumed as soon as possible.

German currency was introduced into occupied areas and by devices of overvaluation the victim countries had to pay enormous contributions (52). The Germans established new central banks and by exchange control and confiscation of gold reserves and of foreign exchanges, and by special clearing arrangements, exploited the countries under their control in ways that had no justifiable relation to the necessities of war (53, 46, 56). By forced labor, by conscription, by threats of refusing ration cards, wage discrimination, and restriction of social legislation, many countries had their labor resources stripped (52).

The massacres, the forced labor, the separation of families, the deprivation of free movements—all these discriminations practiced upon the Jews constituted part of a movement designated by Lemkin as "genocide," a name which he believes should be used to denote something which has gone much farther than the old political and cultural denationalization policies familiar to historians, for "genocide" has embraced political, social, cultural, economic, biological, physical, religious, and moral practices (46, 48, 52, 56).

In 1933 the author proposed to the Fifth International Conference for the Unification of Penal Law that two new international crimes be formulated, namely, the crime of barbarism and the crime of vandalism. What he suggests raises the question of the international control of occupation practices, and in far-reaching fashion the general protection of minority rights and what has been discussed in San Francisco under the heading of the protection of human rights. A critic might be disposed to say that the age of total war had made the strict application of the Hague articles extremely difficult just as the technological development of war made the laws of neutrality difficult to operate; but when every allowance is made, the evidence shows that the Nazi regime went so far beyond requirements even of total war as to justify the kind of investigation which the United Nations are now undertaking and which Mr. Justice Jackson has so well set forth in a recent memorandum.

While some of the documents do not seem to bear immediately on the thesis

developed in the text of the book, they constitute a comprehensive collection which will be of great value to historians of the future looking back upon this present unhappy generation.

University of Washington

LINDEN A. MANDER

## Far Eastern History

THE HISTORY OF THE FORMER HAN DYNASTY. By *Pan Ku*. A critical translation with annotations by *Homer H. Dubs*, Acting Professor of Philosophy in Duke University; with the collaboration of *Jen T'ai* and *P'an Lo-chi*. Two volumes. (Washington: American Council of Learned Societies. 1938, 1944. Pp. xiii, 339; ix, 426. \$3.50 each.)

"A dream of the American Council of Learned Societies," says Waldo G. Leland in the introduction to the first of the two volumes under review, "is a vast *Bibliotheca Sinica* not unlike, let us say, the Loeb Classical Library . . . which would constitute a store of authoritative sources for the use of the specialists who have not the benefit of complete sinological training." The present volumes are offered as the first step in the execution of this project.

They will be welcomed by all historians, those who do not read Chinese and those who do. For, with all due respect for his colleagues, the writer of this review ventures to doubt whether there have ever existed or will exist specialists with "complete sinological training." For example, even giants like Chavannes or Maspero would have confessed their incompetence to translate and interpret a Tantric text. There is no sinologist in the Western world who would not prefer to use a reliable translation for his first information about a period or a historical figure not thoroughly familiar to him. Only after this will he consult the original. He cannot do without it. The text may contain an indirect quotation or allusions not brought out in the translation; the spelling of transcribed proper names must be checked, etc. It is the combination of the Chinese text with a good translation that makes the works of Couvreur so valuable. They show, at least in principle, what a *Bibliotheca Sinica* should be.

The translations in the Loeb Classical Library are accompanied by short explanatory notes. But they are, first and last, translations and not critical editions. The two volumes under review are both; and in addition they contain introductions, appendixes, and so many notes that on some pages there are three lines of text and forty-two lines of notes. This is the crux of the problem of a "Chinese Library."

It took Dr. Dubs and his collaborators seven years to translate and annotate ten of the twelve chapters of the Imperial Annals. The Imperial Annals are about one sixteenth of the whole *History of the Former Han Dynasty*. Assuming that the translation of the remaining fifteen sixteenths requires only half of the time

spent on the first chapters, the last volume would, then, appear around the year 2115, and the translation of the twenty-four dynastic histories of China, with their 2,713 chapters, would be completed sometime in the fourth millennium.

Chavannes' translation of the *Shih chi* remained unfinished. I understand that a group of English planners intend to organize a committee for the translation of the *T'ang shu*. The outcome may be safely foretold. After the first two or three volumes the work will stop, and the collection of incomplete torsos is bound to grow unless plans and methods are radically revised.

The Imperial Annals are a mere chronological summary. It is understandable that the translator is tempted to supplement the dry enumeration of events and so no one will blame Dr. Dubs for having yielded to this temptation. So did Chavannes. Yet we will never have a *Bibliotheca Sinica* unless the translators refrain from adding anything but the absolutely necessary textual and explanatory notes, and these in the briefest form. Let me give just one example. "On the body [of the Emperor Hsiao Hsüan] and on the bottoms of his feet there was hair" (II, 203). A note "common legendary motive" would have sufficed. But Dr. Dubs's note runs to twenty-five lines, including a statement by an anthropologist about the hair distribution among primates. The appendixes on eclipses, competitive games, the sacred field, etc., are certainly instructive, but they have no place in a translation.

The translation shows Dr. Dubs's conscientious scholarship. This or that detail may be debatable. For example, *chien hsieh* (II, 202) is probably, like the parallel *té chih*, an abstract. On II, 205 read "was received in audience" for "visited." *Yi-chiu-jo* and *Ho-liu-jo* (II, 246) cannot be phonetic variants. It is more than doubtful that the Hsiung-nu were the Huns of the great European invasions. *T'ing fu* is not "Father of the Commune." Some geographical names and almost all the titles have been translated, but fortunately not all of them. Otherwise we should read of the "holder of the staff with the *chin wu* bird" instead of the "Chief of Palace Police in the Capital." "Muddy River" for *Cho ho* would require "suddenly changing sea" for *P'o hai*, and there should be neither a *Mount T'ai* nor, as on the map, a *T'ai shan*. Dr. Dubs overlooked the fact that a number of passages of the Annals have been previously translated and commented upon by Arvid Jongchell in his able *Huo Kuang och hans tid* (Göteborg, 1930). But all these are minor details.

Let us hope that the third volume with which the translation of the Imperial Annals will be completed, and the announced prolegomena and glossary will be published in the not too distant future. We will then have another standard sinological work, invaluable for the student and a storehouse of information; not the first volumes of a *Bibliotheca Sinica* but the beginning of the *Monumenta historiae Sinica*.

Mills College

OTTO MAENCHEN-HELFEN



KOREA AND THE OLD ORDERS IN EASTERN ASIA. By *M. Frederick Nelson*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1945. Pp. xvi, 326. \$3.75.)

Mr. Nelson breaks new ground admirably in this well-documented comprehensive study of Korea's international position in the "old orders in Eastern Asia." The book, which is based upon the author's dissertation submitted at Duke University in 1939, contains an excellent bibliography of Western sources and of translations of pertinent Chinese sources used by the author. The old orders refer to the cycle of international relationships between Korea and her neighbors, starting with the Chinese familistic system and ending with annexation by the Japanese.

The Confucian system, by which Korea's foreign relations were governed for many centuries, is shown to have been wholly incompatible with Western international law. According to the author, Korea could not be called a protectorate or a vassal state even though it sent annual tribute to the Chinese court; neither could it be considered an independent state even though it was self-governing and could deal directly with foreign countries.

Contrary to the impression gained from the author, imperial investiture was not necessary for the Korean ruler to be considered king in Korea; he became king upon the death of his predecessor. According to Korean precedent, investiture was simply the imperial confirmation of this fact. Furthermore, the Korean monarchy dated its documents according to the Korean and not the Chinese calendar except when addressing the imperial court. The author's misconception on this point leads him into an error concerning Japanese-Korean relations, since he assumes that the Korean dating on the treaty with Japan in 1876 was unprecedented.

More information on the relations between Japan and Korea prior to the treaty of 1876 would have been useful to the study. The Koreans had long treated the Japanese with great contempt, refusing to receive their envoys except as prescribed in an agreement of the early seventeenth century which restricted them to the Fusan trading post. Considerable intercourse and trade, however, was carried on with the Japanese, particularly through Tsushima. The Korean records indicate clearly that the Japanese were not considered as equals by the Koreans, as implied by the author, but rather as inferiors or barbarian outsiders who were insufficiently civilized to participate in the Confucian international system. From scholar to peasant that attitude toward the Japanese pervaded the Korean mind. It led a Korean envoy, a member of the last entourage to visit Yedo, to write with amazement in his diary of 1763 that some of the Japanese scholars whom he had met in Japan could write classical Chinese with facility. In the early nineteenth century, a Japanese emissary who arrived in Fusan was forced to wait for over two years for a reply to his message!

The latter part of the volume pictures clearly and adequately the hopeless situation which faced the Korean monarchy in its feeble attempts to survive when confronted with Western international practices. The author calls Korea a victim-



ized country, but he might have placed more emphasis upon the demoralizing effect within Korea of the disintegration of China. The Korean records themselves, not used by the author, are replete with illustrations of Korean consternation upon the realization that the once-powerful Chinese Empire could no longer be relied upon.

The best portion of the volume deals with the final stages of Korean international relations. As soon as the Chinese system collapsed, the Korean monarchy made a precarious effort to play off one power against another, but one by one they withdrew or were driven from the scene. The British threw their weight behind Japan in the Anglo-Japanese alliances of 1902 and 1905. The Russians were driven out by the Russo-Japanese War and the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905. The United States, after a considerable pretense of supporting Korean independence, finally decided to let the Japanese proceed unmolested in their encroachment upon the country.

All Americans will no doubt be greatly interested in the liberation of Korea and in the steps taken to implement the Cairo Declaration of December 1, 1943, in which it was stated that the United States, Great Britain, and China were determined that "in due course Korea shall become free and independent." This excellent survey of Korea's past history in international affairs focuses attention upon many of the difficult problems which will have to be faced by the resurrected nation.

*Washington, D. C.*

GEORGE M. McCUNE

JAPAN: A PHYSICAL, CULTURAL, AND REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY. By Glenn Thomas Trewartha, Professor of Geography in the University of Wisconsin. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1945. Pp. xv, 607. \$5.00.)

AMONG the many works dealing with various aspects of Japan there was until now no substantial treatise on its geography. Yet, knowledge of the habitat, its opportunities and limitations, and the actual use the people have made of it, clarifies much in Japanese history and is a prerequisite for any discussion of war and postwar problems. Professor Trewartha began rewriting his brief "Reconnaissance Geography of Japan" in response to suggestions from Army and Navy officials, but the present book is more than a revision to fill specific war needs. It is the first modern geography of Japan in the English language. It may well remain the standard work for a considerable time, in spite of the changes that will result from the war and its aftermath.

The first part deals with the "Physical Equipment and Resources," the second part with the "Cultural Features"; both parts, comprising somewhat over half of the book, deal with Japan as a whole. The third part is a detailed description of the "Regional Subdivisions of Japan." Many tables are included in the text. Particularly noteworthy is the wealth of excellent maps and cartograms as well as care-

fully selected photographs; it would have been helpful had an index of these illustrations been added.

The author has no special axe to grind, no theory to prove. The value of the book lies in its clear description of land and people in their manifold interrelationships. The concentration on Japan proper inevitably restricts the discussion where empire or foreign factors are involved. A simple example of this is the deep sea fishing industry, where Japanese activities in Russian and Alaskan waters are barely mentioned. For the same reason it was presumably outside the scope of the book to include a broad survey of Japan's geographic position in the Far East, the strong and weak points of its empire, and associated strategic, economic, and political problems.

The unique contribution of the author lies especially in the regional description contained in the third part. Here is clearly depicted the diversity in unity, so often ignored in writings about Japan. Professor Trewartha has done a service, not only to geographers, but also to students of many other fields.

*University of California*

JAN O. M. BROEK

**JAPANESE MILITARISM: ITS CAUSE AND CURE.** By *John M. Maki*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. Pp. x, 258, vi. \$3.00.)

THE assertion that the policies and performance of a nation may not be understood without knowledge of its history is frequently made but not always convincingly supported. Mr. Maki has written a revealing account of the Japanese present in terms of its past. He has produced an excellent study of Japanese militarism against the political, economic, and broadly cultural background which is the nation's history.

After an introductory chapter on the "War Against Japan," the author in five chapters examines the causes of militarism. He sees it as a product of the centuries of Japan's unique historical development. The major forces producing it may be stated briefly: the continuing political domination of the Japanese people by an oligarchy whose class character has changed from time to time but whose basic principles of government have remained; a similar domination of the masses by an economic oligarchy whose members have generally been the same as those of the political oligarchy; the overwhelming power of the "emperor idea"; the maintenance of a traditional Japanese culture in the face of all opposing foreign ideas which have been carefully controlled and directed so that the true Japanese way might not be desecrated; finally, the existence through the centuries of the principles and practices of the authoritarian state.

A survey chapter on the "Background of War" recounts the story of Japanese expansion during the last three quarters of a century. In this writer's judgment, this chapter is the least valuable part of the book. In a final chapter, "The Future of Japan," the author considers the cures for militarism. He writes as one fully

aware of the complexities of the disease and the difficulties of treatment. No military defeat alone, no easy governmental changes after defeat, no simple schemes for re-education will remove the evil. Complete defeat is, of course, necessary. A civil war for national purification would be desirable. The constitutional structure must be completely renovated. The people must educate themselves in the political thought and practices of other nations. Monopoly capitalism must end. The imperial institution must be destroyed or so modified as to destroy it as a base for their medieval system.

One point which Mr. Maki makes deserves emphasis. After the defeat of Japan and during the long period when her social, political, and ideological structure will be changing, Asia and the Western world will have a heavy responsibility. For, in the final issue, the cure of militarism depends not wholly upon the elimination of conditions in Japan which produced it but upon the elimination of conditions elsewhere which stimulate it and give it strength.

This book is obviously the result of much research and careful thought, although no bibliography is listed and few references to sources are mentioned. It may be studied with profit by the student of Japanese history, while its interesting style and vital subject should attract readers with a general interest in that country.

*Michigan State College*

WALTER R. FEE

## American History

THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Morris Zucker*. Volume I, THE HISTORICAL FIELD THEORY; Volume II, PERIODS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. (New York: Arnold-Howard Publishing Company. 1945. Pp. xxii, 694; xxxii, 1070. \$8.50.)

ALTHOUGH the philosophical problems connected with historical knowledge have not been conspicuously neglected in recent years, the time is appropriate for a new attempt at critical analysis and synthesis in this field by a historian with philosophical inclinations. The modern reaction against the nineteenth century faith in an objective reconstruction of the past has run its course; it is now possible to get a perspective on the contribution of both economic determinism and historical relativism, and to include in a larger view compatible elements from other interpretations of history which have had their new and eloquent exponents.

Thus Mr. Zucker's volumes are timely and, if we are to believe the preliminary notices, they are sensational—"What Einstein did for Physics, what Darwin did for Biology, Morris Zucker has now done for the field of History in a work hailed as one of the truly great original achievements of our times." To this tribute of his publishers Mr. Zucker would apparently not be inclined to demur. The following statements appear in the prefaces to his first and second volumes respectively: "With the presentation of the Historical Field Theory history should

emerge from the status of an art to assume the rank of a science." "Up to now man has been the creature, and often the victim of his destiny; the Historical Field Theory, if valid, will enable him to become its master."

One would be justified in doubting that such an intellectual feat had been accomplished in the volumes under consideration, but it would be less than just to set aside Mr. Zucker's more than 1,700 pages as quite unworthy of his "high purposes." Even if his work is far more pretentious than monumental, an earnest search, made without distracting comparisons to intellectual giants, will reveal some penetrating observations and criticisms. Mr. Zucker has exposed the philosophical weaknesses in pragmatism as a historical method. He argues effectively for the use of a theory in the process of reconstructing the past, so long as there is constant checking with, and an open eye for, facts. He has insight into the essential conditions for successful democratic government, he has written much that is acute and challenging about American capitalist economy, he has a passion for human betterment equal to his desire not to be fooled by utopian idealism, and there are other evidences of wisdom acquired during what must have been many years of work on an ambitious enterprise.

In order to discover these merits, however, the reader must be prepared to go through frequent tedious polemics or barren disputations infiltrated with platitudes. Page after page is at the level of pamphleteering unredeemed by a Miltonian style. Mr. Zucker's writing may be regarded as adequate for some of his purposes, it is often forceful, especially in the language of abuse, but it is by no means free from solecisms and slovenly constructions. What appears from the table of contents to be good organization is marred by his impulsive and often irrelevant efforts to sully the scholarly reputations of all who do not possess the author's insight into the laws of social movement. Of the intellectual leaders in every branch of the social studies, he discusses, besides Marx and Buckle, very few for whom he has not some measure of contempt, his animus against academicians revealing an intellectual arrogance that is certainly more obtrusive than that of the profession he scorns.

The procedure laid down by the author was to dispose of all historical methods and theories of history in order to clear the way for his own, but he has succeeded in being prolix rather than exhaustive. Devoting much time to the dissection of John Dewey, Charles Beard, and an impressively long list of others, he selects for annihilation many who are scarcely worthy of attention and omits some of the most significant. Among the omissions are Hume on causality, Toynbee and Becker on historical theory, Cole, Laski, Tawney, Lerner, Hansen, and the Lynds on contemporary economic and social thought, Bemis and Perkins on American foreign policy, and many others not intended to be invidiously excluded by the reviewer.

Particular writers may be ignored, but one may ask whether a science of history can be successfully established by adopting a querulous tone and con-

tentious spirit towards nearly all contemporary social thought and statesmanship. Perhaps it can, but Mr. Zucker has not done it. There is no lack of insistence on a rigid scientific method, but the expectations aroused throughout the first volume that a science of history after the pattern of modern physics is to be enunciated are never satisfied. Nor is the Historical Field Theory, applied to American history in the second volume, nearly precise enough to lead inescapably to the author's own conclusions.

The principles of the Historical Field Theory are summarized by the author as follows: "(1) History is the record of events in society; (2) society is an aggregate of three component divisions—the state, the economy and the ideological superstructure; (3) the specific form of the social structure is determined by the nature of the social continuum established by the relations of these aggregates; (4) this continuum provides the matrix for the events which history records; (5) society is progressive to the extent that it permits fuller play for the difference of social potential in its creative elements during its virile state; (6) happenings of historical significance are derived from the operation of definite social laws which are causal in character" (I, 685).

This set of assertions could be somewhat clarified and integrated by other extracts from the first volume, but in so far as Mr. Zucker succeeds in making the exposition of his theory lucid and coherent, he does not, except for some obvious nineteenth and twentieth century modifications and accretions, seem to say more about the relations of social forces than did Montesquieu, whom, incidentally, he does not mention. To bring the *Esprit des lois* up to date is in itself worth doing, but Mr. Zucker, unlike Montesquieu, claims for his truculent pages the establishment "on an irrefragable basis" of "all the essential elements which enter into the formulation of a scientific theory of history" (I, 685). These have given him a scientific instrument of such precision that he is able to predict the course of American history for the next twenty years. This same clear sense of direction does not come inevitably to the reader from the Historical Field Theory in its bald form. What other probably more fundamental elements are present to make possible Mr. Zucker's own faith? One element is his emotional attachment to Marx. Nothing stirs his indignation so much as what he calls the misrepresentations of Marx by followers, critics, and opponents alike. Almost the sole true expositor of Marx, Mr. Zucker repudiates economic determinism as a bastard product. This and other revelations of "what Marx really meant" come naturally from an ardent idolator who confuses a psychological explanation of Marx's personality and writing with a defense of his intellectual system, or, in other words, who regards the reformer and the sociological analyst in Marx as logically consistent rather than psychologically plausible. The only significant failure in Marx which is conceded by Mr. Zucker is connected with his analysis of democracy, particularly in the United States. Thus the element which must be added to Marx in order to make up Mr. Zucker's faith is the Theory of the Continuing

American Revolution. This latter theory is, in fact, the special one applied in the second volume on American history.

If in his own mind the fusion between Marx and the Theory of the Continuing American Revolution has been achieved, there is still a dichotomy intermittently disclosed in the second volume, particularly in the final prophetic chapter. He offers on the one hand the neo-Marxian view that capitalism has had its progressive and constructive period, and that it has by the internal laws of its own economy reached the end of its creative phase. He presents the familiar analysis of the inevitable cycle of crisis, imperialism, and war; he regards all the efforts of contemporary international statesmanship as futile, and shows how, the relationship between capitalism and the modern national state being what it is, all the devices of the peace settlement will fail to avert the third world war. On the other hand, the continuing American Revolution is going to save us internally because democratization, recently advanced even by the fumbling New Deal, will proceed from its firm basis in our political structure to the industrial sphere and the transformation to a social democracy will be accomplished through the arena of public debate. This outcome, with its undoubted attractions to modern liberals, is, except for the suggestion that we shall present an enviable example to the world, in no way reconciled to the gloomy international picture.

How either of these conflicting prophecies follows inexorably from Mr. Zucker's analysis of social laws is not demonstrated. In fact, scornful as he is of those historians who need a fifty-year perspective on events, when he comes to the contemporary period Mr. Zucker is unable imperturbably to watch social forces operate. In treating the past he is able to view his laws of motion in history with such detachment that he is indifferent to moral judgments and the evaluation of personalities, thus reducing the biographer to a rather frivolous role. But when he reaches the twentieth century and deals, for example, with the muckrakers he is full of impatience with their ideology. As for the first World War "all concede now that it was a most egregious mistake of national policy" (II, 694), while the second global conflict is the "most unnecessary of all wars" (I, 228). Apparently, despite the internal laws of capitalist economy, wars are not inevitable, because the obtuseness of the presidents is, in each of these momentous events, regarded as an important factor. Leading men associated with other significant historical events are, however, regarded by Mr. Zucker merely as the agencies of social forces. Perhaps in 1917 and 1941 the social laws went wrong because Mr. Zucker had not written about them in time.

It seems that Mr. Zucker is not aware of how a "scientific" theory of history would differ in its actual functioning from a scientific theory in physics where human motivation is not a factor in the operation of the laws. He knows that "man's ideas are in themselves one of the social forces" (II, 828), and he frankly advocates the "use" of his own science of history. But he does not recognize that the exploitation of historical laws such as he recommends modifies the historical

forces themselves. Consider what new propulsive forces would be generated if Mr. Zucker were to employ an effective press agent for his science of history with its forecast of the next twenty years, what splinters would break off from the orthodox Zuckerians, and what desperate resistant energies would be summoned by the followers of Mr. Hayek. It is well for our thinkers and statesmen to have insight into the past and to employ their knowledge of probabilities and possibilities for the shaping of the future, but exact foreknowledge, if it were possible and if it were to be disseminated and believed, would confuse men's desires and endeavors. That is why Jacob Burckhardt, who had both insight and, for much of Europe, considerable prophetic gifts, believed that "a future known in advance is an absurdity."

Perhaps Mr. Zucker would have avoided some of the contradictions in his work had he not been inclined to identify a passion for certitude with the scientific temper. His two volumes as they stand, full of derision for his fellow intellectuals accompanied by occasional, half-concealed attempts to forestall criticism, are like all serious efforts at historical synthesis a contribution, no matter how much less than he thinks, to objective historical knowledge. His historical creed is undoubtedly more wholesome, though less original or intellectually stimulating, than that of Oswald Spengler, whom he despises. The late Justice Holmes wrote to Sir Frederick Pollock that he regarded Spengler as "an odious animal who must be read." Mr. Zucker, being, unlike Spengler, a humanitarian, is doubtless a much more attractive animal, but one reviewer sympathetic to his aspirations for American democracy does not believe that he must be read.

*University of Rochester*

WILLSON H. COATES

PURITANISM AND DEMOCRACY. By *Ralph Barton Perry*, Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University. (New York: Vanguard Press. 1944. Pp. xvi, 688. \$5.00.)

GREAT emphasis has been placed in recent years upon "synthesis" both within and without the historical profession in the pious hope of attaining more meaningful interpretations. But, within the profession, the spirit, if willing, has been weak, and persons outside the clan have been impelled to undertake the inventory which historians, with their concern for "new" materials, have neglected. Many of the works of these "interlopers" have been too hastily prepared and too narrowly based to win merited acclaim, but a few have become welcome and permanently useful additions to historical studies. Among the latter group Professor Perry's newest volume will assume, in the opinion of this reviewer, a prominent place, for it is a solidly founded, excellently written exposition, analysis, and appraisal of Puritanism and democracy in American national life.

Professor Perry has set forth the limits of his book carefully. He seeks to discover Americanism and to identify the American cause in the present World War



with the American tradition. Pre-eminent in the American tradition, according to Professor Perry's findings, are the overlapping ideas and ideals of Puritanism and democracy. These, then, he sets out to analyze and to appraise. After a slapping administered to the reactionary, radical, and totalitarian doubters of democracy and a splendid chapter on "The Power of Ideals," Professor Perry treats of three interrelated topics: "A Review of the Past," in which the blending of Puritanism and the Enlightenment is held to have produced the principal ingredients of the American mind; an "Appraisal of Puritanism," in which both the strength and the weaknesses of the Puritan mind are set forth with singular clarity; and an "Appraisal of Democracy," in which elements such as "The Supremacy of Reason and Conscience," individualism, popular government, liberty, and the like are given their historical and moral setting in the American scene. The final chapter, "Conclusion," summarizes, compares, and integrates Puritanism and democracy in the evolution of Americanism.

"The cord of American history has many strands," reads the publisher's remarkably restrained jacket blurb," but throughout its length the two main strands have been Puritanism and democracy. They have twisted and crossed and intertwined; at one moment one force has been dominant, at the next the other, but usually they have served to reinforce and strengthen each other." Common to both Puritanism and democracy are individualism (intensified, perhaps, by frontier influences), equality before the law, contractual concepts regarding the origin of government, representative institutions, and the cult of progress. Also common to both Puritanism and democracy—and permeating all the others—is the emphasis placed upon moral values and the dignity of intelligently responsible man. Thus the American tradition appears to be based upon enduring human values, and the American cause is justifiable in the eyes of God and man.

Historians will find little by way of new factual materials in this book, as the author's purpose was interpretative and he was content to rely upon the standard printed sources and the researches of others for the materials upon which his analyses and conclusions are founded. No one is likely to complain about the extent or the depth of the author's reading. But in his portrayal of Puritanism he tends, in this reviewer's opinion, to group the Puritans too broadly under the banner of Calvinism (how badly we need full-length studies of William Ames and John Cotton!), to distinguish too little between New England and English Puritan tenets, and, perhaps, to distinguish too greatly between Puritan and Anglican influences—for much, after all, labeled "Puritan" was merely seventeenth century English. Moreover, in the realm of the intellect, the nexus between the later Puritans and the Enlightenment might be more sharply drawn, especially as it related to Benjamin Franklin and others of his generation. But these are minor concerns, even debatable points, in proportion to the overall excellence of Professor Perry's study. As a weighty contribution to the intelligent appreciation

and understanding of Americanism and the traditional bases thereof, this book deserves a high priority rating. It will be a pity if it becomes identified with the mass of well-intentioned but flimsily grounded "patriotic" volumes which are spewed from wartime presses.

*University of Illinois*

RAYMOND P. STEARNS

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA. By *Alexis de Tocqueville*. The Henry Reeve Text as revised by Francis Bowen, now further corrected and edited with Introduction, Editorial Notes, and Bibliographies by *Phillips Bradley*. Foreword by Harold J. Laski. Two volumes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. Pp. cxii, 434, xii; xiii, 401, x. \$6.00.)

THE reviewer's natural impulse is to welcome with enthusiasm a new edition of a work such as Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, which, long out of print, is clearly of major significance, both as a historical document and as a sociological and philosophical analysis. Yet in many respects, Professor Bradley's edition is disappointing. Secondhand copies of previous editions and translations are still readily available at modest prices. Hence, a new two-volume edition, selling at six dollars, has to justify itself by cogent virtues. The present edition is, especially given war conditions, a fine job of book production, and on that ground it may be preferred for library purposes to many of the printings of older editions. Yet that in itself does not seem to me an adequate justification. It is my feeling that to be justified, a new edition of this kind, as distinct from a much-to-be-desired popular reprint, such as those to be found in the Modern Library Giants, should either be a new, and a better, translation, or it should be preceded by an introduction which adds to scholarly knowledge or gives new philosophical or historical interpretation. Unfortunately, the present work meets neither of these criteria.

The text itself contains indeed many revisions, most of them improvements. Some whole passages have been retranslated, and many minor changes have been made. But in essence it is the Henry Reeve text as revised by Francis Bowen. Professor Bradley has restored some of the Reeve passages, which Bowen, in his translation, had wrongfully mutilated, and has in other cases improved on either the original or the revised text.

It is, however, my feeling that a completely new translation was required, in particular because the original translation, though not always accurate, had a somewhat unfortunate faithfulness which makes it often unattractive and awkward as an English work. Indeed I venture to suggest that the widespread distribution and reading of this work, through a popular edition, is unlikely unless and until a really effective modern translation is made. I believe that this can best be done by going to the French text and ignoring initially the Reeve translation and the Bowen emendations. Mere tampering, no matter how scholarly, precise, and cor-

rective, will not do—and unfortunately the tampering here at issue does not always possess even these virtues.

As to the introduction, its defects seem equally glaring. First and above all, it is not a new contribution to historical scholarship; it is not a masterly philosophical or biographical disquisition worthy of the work and the author; and it is not, what might have been justified for a popular reprint, a brief and attractive introductory essay. It consists of some ninety pages which, while sober and authoritative in presentation, are on the whole unilluminating and uninspired. The commentary on Tocqueville's life, on his travels here, and on his relations with Beaumont, occupying some twelve pages, gives one no real sense of the character and development of the man or of the issues of his life and times. We are told of some external events. We are informed why he came here, where he traveled, and where he failed to go, and we are given a few judgments on his character. As a person he does not emerge. The meaning of his life and activities and the reasons for his interests are not at all clear, save to one having independent knowledge, and nothing is said of his later life, of his work on the *ancien régime*, and of its connection, if any, with the ideas of the *Democracy*.

There follows a very considerable section devoted to the reception of *Democracy in America* and containing numerous extracts from reviews made at the time in France, in England, and in America, as well as from later reviews and appreciations. This undoubtedly includes some material not readily available, but, at least to me, it conveys very little save the information that the work was immediately recognized to be important; that its division into two parts, the one descriptive and analytical of detailed American institutions, and the other philosophic, reflective on the general problems of democracy, was immediately emphasized for critical purposes; and that reviewers, then as now, differed in competence, in insight, and in prejudices.

The third major part of the introduction, after noting some omissions in Tocqueville's analysis, contains a summary of some of his insights, political, economic, and sociological, with some indications of ways in which, in the editor's judgment, problems have changed since Tocqueville's time, as well as some stress on the continuation of certain issues he saw or foresaw. This last part is at points suggestive. Yet it is somewhat disparate, while the statement of current issues and problems of American government and society is, no doubt of necessity, sufficiently brief and dogmatic to be gravely misleading. Indeed that particular task could only be performed adequately by a contemporary Tocqueville.

Yet perhaps what is most distressing is that, while the editor continually informs us of the novelty of Tocqueville's analysis in scope and penetration as a sociological and philosophical inquiry into the nature, causes, functioning, limitations, and future of democratic institutions, he nowhere conveys any sense of how Tocqueville was great or of what it was he contributed in the realms of

methodology and ideology. Tocqueville's second volume may have been one of reflections on democracy and democratic ideas, but in this analysis there is no real estimate and critical sympathetic treatment of his philosophical point of view. It may indeed be desirable, in presenting an edition of a man's work, to leave the reader to discover its merits for himself. But, if an editor does undertake the job of examination and assessment, it would seem to me that he must do more than give organized random reflections on particular points discussed by the original author, at least if that author is said to be, and is in fact, a political philosopher. Indeed Professor Laski's brief foreword, though prejudicially slanted by his own attitude toward current social struggles, indicates the type of analysis which an adequate introduction would have contained.

In conclusion, one can only hope that this edition, because of its very defects, will stimulate some scholar to undertake a new translation and perhaps write a philosophical and more penetrating commentary on Tocqueville, his philosophy, and his times. Yet it is perhaps to be feared that the appearance and existence of this edition will prevent rather than encourage such a work.

*University of Washington*

THOMAS I. COOK

THE COLONIAL AGENTS OF THE SOUTHERN COLONIES. By *Ella Lonn*, Professor of History, Goucher College. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1945. Pp. vii, 438. \$5.00.)

THE colonial agent was the most important liaison official between the colonial governments and the British authorities. He was a sort of ambassador to the British government from the colony or colonies represented by him. In the early years every colony at times sent one or more agents to England on special missions. Out of this practice there developed that of having a permanent agent to represent each colony before the home authorities. The permanent agent was usually elected for a term of two years but was often re-elected. Some agents therefore served continuously for long periods of time. The agent was sometimes appointed by the governor and council and sometimes by the assembly. The method of appointment of the agent was frequently a cause of dispute between the upper and lower houses of the assembly. According to the rule laid down by the Board of Trade, the agent should be appointed by all branches of the colonial government. He should be named by the lower house of the assembly and his selection confirmed by the governor and the council. This practice, however, was not generally followed.

There were some two hundred agents in all the colonies during the entire colonial period. In the performance of their duties they appeared before practically every board of the home government, and in a very few instances an agent was brought before the king and the House of Commons. Their main business, how-

ever, was with the Board of Trade. Among the numerous duties of the agent the following might be mentioned: looking after land problems, military affairs, and Indian affairs; forwarding documents and news; securing acceptances of colonial legislation and preventing the adoption of policies objectionable to the colonies; looking after appeal cases; and serving in general as an ambassador of good will. The office of agent was one of dignity and was usually sought after by men of prominence, although the compensation was meager and often collected with difficulty. He was also subject to the adverse criticism of the Board of Trade and the colonial government—the governor and council or the assembly.

Sometimes the agents of a few colonies with a common interest co-operated in their representations to the British authorities. On a few occasions there was general co-operation in which all or most of the agents acted together. One noted instance of such co-operation was the joint effort to prevent the enactment of the Molasses Act of 1733; another was to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act.

This is a definitive work on the colonial agent of the Southern colonies. It is a scholarly production in which sound conclusions are based on facts stated and interpreted without bias. The style is good and the volume is exceptionally free from mistakes; only one or two oversights in proofreading have been noted (see p. 175). The character of the discussion is such as to require a vast amount of data and in a number of places this is supplied in such fullness as to tax the interest of the reader. The book will therefore appeal to the special student rather than to the general reader. The author has in part relieved the tedium of much detail by the use of brief summaries and generalizations. There should have been more of these. Professor Lonn deserves the thanks of all serious students of the period for having added an important chapter to their knowledge of colonial history.

*West Virginia University*

O. P. CHITWOOD

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLONIAL NEWSPAPER. By *Sidney Kobre*. (Pittsburgh: Privately printed. 1944. Pp. xi, 188.)

Most of Mr. Kobre's book is devoted to individual accounts of forty colonial newspapers. For the period 1690–1750, he has described all the papers; for the period 1750–1783, only those of Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. The sketches relate the origins, editorships, business activities, and political affiliations of the various journals and give information concerning the form, contents, subscribers, presses, printers, and unique features of each. Because Mr. Kobre has prepared these accounts mainly from the papers themselves and from secondary works, his survey presents a surface picture of only two dimensions. Lacking the personal records of editors and publishers, and without an extensive firsthand knowledge of the times, he has been unable to go behind the scenes. Inasmuch as

the main value of the book is that of a guide to newspapers as sources, it is unfortunate that the bibliography does not contain complete lists of surviving copies, with the names of the libraries in which they are to be found.

A second part of Mr. Kobre's undertaking—that of relating the newspapers to the life of the times—has not been done with distinction. He has relied for background material on secondary accounts, with the result that his surveys and comments are formal, impersonal, and confined mainly to familiar facts. The weakness of the historical features of the book may be illustrated by the discussion of the colonial press and the Stamp Act. Mr. Kobre has ignored the provisions of the act which pertain to American newspapers and has therefore failed to show the effect which the act would have had upon them.

Anyone who seeks a concise account of the external facts of a particular paper, or who wishes to make a brief survey of the leading papers, will find Mr. Kobre's book the most convenient one available. His sketches are useful as a guide and as an introduction but are not definitive in any respect.

*Cornell University*

CURTIS NETTELS

TOWN MEETING COUNTRY. By *Clarence M. Webster*. [American Folkways, edited by Erskine Caldwell.] (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1945. Pp. ix, 246. \$3.00.)

If a book review should state, first, what the author has tried to do, second, how well he has done it, and third, what the reviewer thinks of it, then I would say:

First: Professor Webster has written with a loving hand a description of the heart of Yankee land which he bounds as all that part of Connecticut east of the Connecticut River, an adjoining slit of Rhode Island including Providence and Newport, and a little slice of neighboring Massachusetts to the north. This is the section of New England where he was born and bred, and where his ancestors lived and died before him. He aptly calls it Town Meeting Country, for here has always flourished and now still flourishes as pure a democracy as can be found outside of ancient Greece. This is a sober God-fearing country. The descendants of the Pilgrims, the Puritans, and Revolutionary heroes still live here. Emigrants from Poland, France, Ireland, Serbia, Italy, Portugal, Russia, and Scandinavia are scattered singly and in groups throughout the region. The people are independent, self-reliant, yet public-spirited. They represent, as perhaps no other similar grouping, the best and worst of the American tradition, though the best greatly out-balances the worst. It is a land of wooded hills, rocks and rills, rich pastures and desolate country stretches. It is the land of flourishing cities, of hilltop villages with colonial white churches, where the homes face the highways and the barns behind cut off the view. It is a land of factories and mills, of wealth and poverty, of cold winters and matchless green summers. It is a sweet land of liberty.

Second: The author has done his work well. The book is a balanced amalgam of history, folklore, anecdote, sociology, and homespun philosophy, as only a devout and devoted Yankee resident of Town Meeting Country could write. Every phase of the history of this territory, which the Puritans took from the Indians, down to today, is embraced within the scope of the book. It is done with high literary skill all surcharged with dry satire and native Yankee humor. No one will start the book and not finish it.

Third: I think the book is in no sense epochal, for it is neither fish, flesh, nor fowl. But it should be included in all American libraries that have a five-foot shelf of Americana or Americanism. For to understand Town Meeting Country is to understand in good part how the United States came to be what it is.

*Rollins College*

HAMILTON HOLT

THE BUILDERS OF THE BRIDGE: THE STORY OF JOHN ROEBLING AND HIS SON. By *D. B. Steinman*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1945. Pp. xi, 457. \$3.50.)

HERE is one of the great epics in the history of American science and technology. It deals with the careers of John A. Roebling and his son, Washington—builders of suspension bridges. The senior Roebling left Germany in 1831, bringing a colony of German immigrants to the United States. He purchased a tract of land a few miles north of Pittsburgh and established a settlement called Saxonburg. Here the colony settled down to farming. But John Roebling's heart was not in farming. Most of all he wanted to become a builder of bridges, of railroad suspension bridges. He would build his bridges by using wire ropes and cables. He invented the wire ropes and cables himself, the first in history, and put them to the test in constructing a suspension aqueduct over the Allegheny River at Pittsburgh in 1845.

Then he decided to use wire ropes for building suspension bridges. This was a revolutionary venture. He built his first suspension bridge across the Monongahela River at Pittsburgh in 1846—a great success. Then came the opportunity that Roebling had longed for—that of throwing a suspension bridge across the Niagara River. It was completed in 1855, and “the first train in history crossed a bridge suspended from wire cables.” By using stiffening trusses, Roebling introduced an engineering principle that has been employed in all later suspension bridges. The Niagara Bridge became the most talked about bridge in the world. Next he built a suspension bridge across the Allegheny River at Pittsburgh, and then one across the Ohio, connecting Cincinnati and Covington, Kentucky. The latter bridge still stands, and during the terrible flood of 1937 it alone of all the bridges between Steubenville, Ohio, and Cairo, Illinois, remained open to traffic.

But Roebling's greatest triumph was the Brooklyn Bridge. In its construction



he introduced many new plans. He used steel wire rather than iron wire. He introduced a system of supports by inclined stays, radiating downward from the tops of the towers to the floor of the span. "The magic of the web-like tracery of the lines has been the delight of artists and poets, and of all who love beauty."

But the senior Roebling was not permitted to see his latest monument completed. On July 6, 1869, he suffered an accident while working on the bridge and died. His son Colonel Washington Roebling, a graduate of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, a veteran of the Civil War, who had been abroad studying caisson construction, now took over his father's task. But tragedy struck again. Washington Roebling while working with his men down in those hazardous caissons, contracted the dread "caisson disease," and became paralyzed at the early age of thirty-five. But the work had to go on. From an upper window in his home on Columbia Heights, equipped with field glasses he carried on for eleven years. His wife, sister of his commanding general, became his chief aid. She made daily visits to the bridge to inspect the work and carried his instructions to the men. "She became his co-worker and his principal assistant—his inspector, messenger, ambassador, and spokesman—his sole contact with the outside men." The first cable wire (galvanized) was drawn across the river in May, 1877. The work was pushed rapidly. On May 24, 1883, the bridge was dedicated. President Arthur and Governor Cleveland led the parade across the bridge as Colonel Roebling, from the upper window of his home with his wife beside him, viewed the exercises and the parade as it passed over the bridge that his father had designed and he had completed.

Mr. Steinman, noted bridgebuilder and engineer, has written a dramatic biography of two notable members of his profession and builders of American civilization.

*University of Pittsburgh*

JOHN W. OLIVER

PHILADELPHIA LAWYER: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *George Wharton Pepper*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1944. Pp. 407. \$3.75.)

HISTORIANS usually expect to find little of value to their trade in a book of random recollections written by an ex-senator during the seventy-seventh year of his age and twenty years after a term in office of less than six years. This book will agreeably disappoint them—and for three reasons. Mr. Pepper's methods of preserving his physical health (pp. 294-95) and mental resilience ("I must thoroughly understand the modern point of view even if I cannot accept it," p. 283) have proved effective; and he stubbornly refuses to lose his sense of humor or to magnify his own importance.

This autobiography ranges among the experiences of a well-bred, upperclass Philadelphia youth of liberal-conservative leanings, who became an outstanding

professor of law, a public-spirited citizen, a strong pillar of the Episcopal Church, an internationally known attorney, a frequent worker on the upper levels of Republican politics, and a one-term appointee to the United States Senate. Though he no longer teaches law or sits in the Senate, he continues even today his energetic pursuit of his other occupations, and therefore his material comes up to the moment.

The best part of this autobiography is its candid analysis of the genus senator (pp. 135-223); all users of the *Congressional Record* should start to read this section, and they are likely to follow it through unless they are of the "sacrosanct" or "stuffed-shirt" breed of human animal. It will help to avoid silly notions as to what a senator is and what he thinks he is. Other passages, on such episodes as the fight against the League of Nations and the Republican Convention of 1940, are limited to Pepper's own angle of participation; and from them readers may scarcely guess of the venom in Lodge or of the paid *claqueurs* who raised the Philadelphia convention hall rafters with yells for Willkie's nomination. Comment on "T. R." is penetrating (pp. 81, 90-92); but Pepper misjudged La Follette (p. 146) and evidently had no relish for detail on Penrose and Vare. His almost uniform urbanity deserts him in some passages touching the New Deal, such as that wherein he remarks that "while we now have most of the evils of totalitarian government we are administering it wastefully and inefficiently" (p. 283).

A certain relish for comment on seamy sides of the F. D. Roosevelt administration is to be expected from anyone of the author's background and beliefs. He belongs with the liberal-conservative class, which prominently led in American decisions prior to Wilson; this class has contributed considerably more to American upbuilding than many historians are willing to credit to them. As Mr. Pepper observes, his class is handicapped by its more fortunate status and naturally finds it hard "to appreciate the anxieties of the so-called 'underprivileged' . . . to imagine what it is like to be hungry and cold and harassed by debts" (p. 278). It is an achievement to realize the handicap, as the author shows by his analysis of why capitalism needs a dynamic church (p. 290).

Much concerning legal cases and practice before the United States Supreme Court adds to the interest of this book. Herein is repeatedly stressed the value of habits of conference and compromise in a democracy. Some historians, as well as Mr. Pepper, apprehend a trend among Americans to substitute for these habits those of intolerance and of resort to force. Not all are as optimistic as the author, who, as is the wont of most writers, closes his narrative by writing a foreword; there Mr. Pepper testifies to our future: "Just as I am confident of personal immortality so I believe that through the grave and gate of death America will pass to a joyful resurrection. Perhaps it is only wishful thinking, but my belief is that as America goes so will go the world."

*Swarthmore, Pennsylvania*

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

AMERICAN CHRONICLE: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF RAY STAN-  
NARD BAKER [David Grayson]. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.  
1945. Pp. vii, 531. \$3.50.)

Mr. Baker's memoirs take immediate place on the shelves of those who may seek to appraise the Progressive mind and achievement. This volume joins such autobiographies as those by Steffens and La Follette, Whitlock and Frederic C. Howe. These names are intentionally juxtaposed. It is generally accepted, I believe, that the writers of the period share with the politicians, social workers, and others, responsibility for their achievements and failures. Mr. Baker's present work throws light on both.

*American Chronicle* opens with the author's first journalistic successes in Chicago, in 1893 when the depression began. It was Mr. Baker's first depression and he reported it conscientiously. He is candid enough to admit that "in spite of all the misery I saw around me every day, I was positively enjoying myself" (p. 2). Coxey's march on Washington struck him as fantastic, but he tried to understand it. Articles and stories for *Youth's Companion* and *McClure's* were of a quality which won him an editorship with the latter periodical. Later he emerged as one of the leading "writers of exposure." He characterizes himself as of this time accurately: "I had a sharp appetite for life: I liked people—all kinds of people . . . I did not want to reform the world; there were plenty of others willing and eager to do that!"

In my study of American liberalism I have discussed Mr. Baker's alter ego, David Grayson, who wrote essays in contentment in a rural setting. There is little to add here except that the essays contrast sharply with the unwritten but long-planned novel in which Mr. Baker was to probe the depths of American life.

*American Chronicle* is disappointingly meager in its treatment of muckraking and Progressivism. Not so in the lengthy section devoted to the first World War. To read Mr. Baker's chapters on his mission to England and France as an observer for the State Department during this time is once more to recapture the spirit which made *McClure's* the unofficial organ of the Square Deal. Here indeed are England and France as the man in the street saw them. Mr. Baker provides the historian with an interesting chapter of his experiences as head of the press department of the American commission to the Peace Conference. His account of his friendship with Wilson and of his years dedicated to the President's life and works provides a useful background for the eighteen volumes which he edited or wrote on that subject.

Mr. Baker quotes with pride an early criticism by Upton Sinclair that "you can beat even the rest of the folks on *McClure's* for getting together facts minus conclusions" (p. 195). Mr. Baker and Mr. Sinclair represented extremes of partiality and impartiality between which labored a host of writers who gave the reading public such genuine liberty of the press as has rarely been equaled. The

time came when Mr. Baker's "authenticity" failed to move his large and amiable public (pp. 467-68). Mr. Baker's work on Wilson has been justly criticized on the score of objectivity, but there is something attractive in the following passage from the biographer's diary: "Well, I *am* a friend of Wilson's, and it is only by a friend that any man can be understood. No man who was wholly 'cold' or entirely 'unprejudiced' ever wrote a good book: or an understanding book" (p. 490).

*Washington, D. C.*

LOUIS FILLER

\* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

General History

**HUMAN NATURE: THE MARXIAN VIEW.** By *Vernon Venable*, Associate Professor of Philosophy at Vassar College. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1945, pp. xii, 213, xiii, \$3.00.) "The intended function of this book," says Professor Venable, "is to make available to modern thought a comprehensive, detailed and systematic account of the Marxian theory of man—not in comparison or in contrast with the Freudian or with any other, or with such truths about human beings as anthropological sciences may have more recently discovered or are today involved in verifying—but simply in and for itself. Why? Simply because no such account exists." In other words, the author has tried to expound what Marx and Engels thought about man, what they conceived to be the nature of the human being, the determinants of man's evolution, the springs of human motivation, and the scientific methods to be followed both for understanding human nature and for changing it. In accordance with the author's objective of doing an "inside job," he has largely avoided the use of "outside" commentaries. The book is scholarly and informative. It offers a systematic co-ordination of all the anthropological materials within the general Marxian philosophy. It explains what, according to Marx and Engels, human nature is, and how it changes. Though the whole book is remarkable, chapter vii ("The Condition of Being Human: Production") is worthy of special mention; it is, to the reviewer's mind, one of the best analytical essays ever published on the basic concepts of Marxism. Professor Venable's study is an important contribution to a full and accurate understanding of Marxian philosophy. Few authors, if any, have a better knowledge of the vast literary output of Marx and Engels. The rich language and a fine sense of humor add to the value of this masterpiece of exposition. It will be helpful not only to the specialist but also to the general reader interested in social science. In more normal times it would undoubtedly be translated into many a European language. EDMUND SILBERNER

**THE COMET OF 1577: ITS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF ASTRONOMY.** By *C. Doris Hellman*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, Number 510.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. 488, \$6.00.) This monograph is an example of the intensive and thorough research necessary before a sound history of a scientific theory can be written. After two chapters summarizing cometary theory to 1577, Dr. Hellman presents in six chapters her classification of contemporary opinion on the comet of that year. These writers fall into two main groups: those with scientific knowledge who attempted to measure the comet's position and to theorize accordingly, and those who used the comet for their own purposes, whether in astrology, poetry, sermons, or in sheer curiosity about a natural phenomenon. Therefore much of the material presented is unimportant from the point of view of scientific theory but should prove useful to a future historian of sixteenth century culture. Dr. Hellman's own evaluation of the work done on the comet by those with some scientific knowledge is that "in volume and accuracy of observation the year 1577 marks a tremendous leap forward" not only in cometary theory but also in theories of the universe. The most notable and probably the most useful feature of this book is the meticulously presented bibliography (pp. 318-430) of sixteenth century publications

even remotely concerned with comets. Some of the more important of these books Dr. Hellman has abstracted in her text. Having previously published a smaller bibliography in *Isis* (December, 1934), she has now made her older work available in book form with much new material added. She gives also a long bibliography of references (pp. 431-72). A history of cometary theory comparable to Dreyer's *History of the Planetary Systems* has yet to be written. Dr. Hellman's study will be a mine of information for such a historian, as well as a useful and valuable guide and tool for other students of the sixteenth century.

DOROTHY STIMSON

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SCIENCE. Edited by *Forest Ray Moulton* and *Justus J. Schifferes*. [Science Publications Council Book.] (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Doran, 1945, pp. 700, \$4.00.)

A LIST OF BOOKS ON THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE. Second Supplement, Part 5, CHEMISTRY, CRYSTALLOGRAPHY, AND MINERALOGY. By *Reginald B. Gordon*. (Chicago, John Crerar Library, 1945, pp. 21.)

THE GROWTH OF GERMAN HISTORICISM. By *Friedrich Engel-Janosi*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXII, Number 2.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1944, pp. 101, xiv, \$1.25.) This little book arose out of part of a lecture course on the rise of modern historiography which Professor Engel-Janosi, formerly of Austria, delivered at Johns Hopkins University in 1940-41. As the author warns, it does *not* constitute "a history of German historical writing during the nineteenth century." He is less interested in what actual history was written, or by whom and how, than in the evolution of philosophical thought regarding the nature and process of historical happenings. Germany in the nineteenth century was *par excellence* the land of history. Many German thinkers tended to evaluate the entire European civilization of their day, with its codes and scales of values, as an end product of historical forces, of organic development. This philosophy of "historicism" Engel-Janosi pursues in ten chapters of uneven length, mingling writers of belles-lettres and philosophers with bona fide historians: Herder, Humboldt, Goethe, Niebuhr, the Romantic School, Hegel, Ranke, Marx, Schopenhauer, and Burckhardt. Schopenhauer and Niebuhr receive less than two and one half pages each, Ranke and Burckhardt lead with twelve apiece. A treatment as brief as this monograph cannot presume to rival previous works on the subject. A reader readily conversant with German can learn much more of *Historismus* in the same length of time by examining the standard volumes of Meinecke (1936) or the powerful genius of Troeltsch (1922). But this is not to say the book has no merits of its own, quite apart from being a stimulating introduction to the subject in English dress. The author offers many interesting comments and quotations, and has forged ahead on the subject of Marx and Burckhardt. His general method is one of sampling each of the oracles selected for their solutions of three major problems of modern history and philosophy: the problem of development, of individuality, and of success. A parallel study on French historians of the nineteenth century is promised in the near future.

BERNARD J. HOLM

PHILADELPHIA BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CENTER AND UNION LIBRARY CATALOGUE: UNION LIST OF MICROFILMS, SUPPLEMENT 3 (1944). Prepared by the Committee on Microphotography. (Philadelphia, 1945, pp. xiv, 232, \$3.25.)

THE CORPORATION AND THE HISTORIAN. By *Stanley Pargellis*, Member of the Newcomen Society, Director, The Newberry Library, Chicago. (Chicago, Newcomen Society, American Branch, 1944, pp. 16.)

THE WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY: A BRIEF DESCRIPTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RECORD: 1923-1944. [William L. Clements Library, Bulletin No. XLIII.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1944, pp. 47.)

GREECE AND BRITAIN. By *Stanley Casson*. (New York, Hastings House; London, Collins, 1943, pp. 111, \$2.00, 7s. 6d.) Besides his experiences in Greece in the recent war (*American Historical Review*, XLIX, 475), the author has given us this historical sketch of Greco-British relations. He shows that not the Phoenicians but "the ancestors of our present allies first made known the islands which have never ceased to be their good friends," contrary to what Camden wrote in 1607. "Trade intercourse between the British islands and Minoan Crete" existed between 2000 and 1500 B.C., as proved by the blue beads found in Wiltshire. "Albion," an earlier name than Britannia, and "Hibernians" were mentioned for the first time in the sixth century B.C. A Greek from Marseilles, Medacritus, was "the first to import tin" from Cornwall. About 300 B.C. Pytheas, also of Marseilles, voyaged to Britain, and this "friendly Hellenic Baedeker" mentions Kent, rounded Scotland, and was "the first Greek who really got to know Britain." In 1939 excavations at Sutton Hoo in Suffolk produced Byzantine bowls of about 600 A.D., and Theodore of Tarsus founded a school at Canterbury, where Greek was taught. Byzantine influence on Anglo-Saxon art during the two centuries before the Norman Conquest, after which Saxon refugees entered the Varangian Guard, is copiously illustrated. Richard Coeur de Lion's conquest of Cyprus and marriage there with Berengaria probably influenced the romantic Disraeli to take Cyprus, in 1878, against the opinion of his military and naval experts. The visits of Nicander, a Corfiot, to England about 1545, when he found Argives serving in Henry VIII's Scottish campaign, and of the organ-maker, John Dallam, to Zante, then Venetian, and Thessaly, in 1599 on his mission to give an organ from Queen Elizabeth to the sultan, form an interesting chapter. Dallam's Thessalian dragoman "was the first permanent British resident of Greece." A descendant of the Palaiologoi, married to an Englishwoman, was buried at Llandulph in 1636. Of British participators in the War of Independence Byron and Hastings are specially mentioned. The reviewer witnessed the enthusiasm at the Byron centenary at Missolonghi in 1924. The cession of the Ionian Islands by Britain was a fine gesture, for "the Greeks prefer absolute freedom—even with defects—to the paternal control of even a friendly nation." Finlay is properly appreciated. The book concludes with the British help to Greece in the recent war. Unfortunately, since it was written, it is no longer true that "at no time have British troops faced Greeks as opponents in war." Greek influence on American architecture and education is briefly shown. The eleven colored plates and sixty-four illustrations complete the story. The author's work, historical and military, is ended, for his death on the battlefield was announced on May 5, 1944.

WILLIAM MILLER

THE MAKING OF MODERN HOLLAND: A SHORT HISTORY. By *A. J. Barnouw*, Columbia University. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1944, pp. 224, \$2.75.) Although this book was intended primarily for popular consumption (as indicated partly by the absence of documentation and bibliography), it contains much useful information for scholars. Each of the eleven chapters reveals the extensive knowledge of the author, who was educated in the Netherlands and traveled on numerous occasions throughout his native land. Unlike P. J. Blok and Robert Fruin, he chose to concentrate largely on literary rather than on historical studies. But in the present summary of Dutch history he has added something to that field which reminds the reader of the services rendered in Belgium by Henri Pirenne. The charming style does not hide the wealth



of information at the disposal of the writer. Particularly stimulating is his account of the medieval background, so brilliantly depicted in French by Pirenne. Even Pirenne, however, did not fathom what Barnouw has seen, namely, the contribution of the Dutch people to the great religious revival of the fifteenth century, which made possible powerful elements in both the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Reformation. Blok and Fruin, as well as J. Huizinga, could not appreciate this phase of European culture. Barnouw, on the other hand, has clearly shown why the Hollanders developed a form of modern religion quite different from the German concept devised by Luther. He might have pursued this theme still farther by presenting the remarkable contribution by Hugo Grotius. Worth noting also are the references to the progress made by the Dutch in the fields of democratic government, jurisprudence, the natural sciences, public charity, university curriculums, finance, and shipping. Dutch expansion in the Far East since the Congress of Vienna has received proper attention. The enlightened rule of Queen Wilhelmina merits all the praise accorded by the enthusiastic author. We are happy to observe that his prediction concerning the ultimate liberation of the Dutch nation has finally come to pass.

ALBERT HYMA

A SURVEY OF CATHOLIC LITERATURE. By *Stephen James Meredith Brown* and *Thomas McDermott*. [Science and Culture Series.] (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1945, pp. 258, \$2.50.) "A panorama of Catholic literature, from the earliest Fathers of the Church to present times."

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE LAST PEACE. By *R. B. McCallum*, Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. ix, 214, \$3.50.) The theme and purpose of this interesting and attractively written little volume can best be put in the author's own words anent the Treaty of Versailles: "It was a very remarkable treaty. It fulfilled our acknowledged war aims with a degree of perfection that no other European settlement to which we had ever set our hand could equal. . . . Yet it was not long before it became a platitude to regard it as conceived in iniquity or wrought in folly, and he who sought to praise it had to stand convicted of incorrigible pedantry or of talking for cheap effect. How this came about is worthy of some careful examination" (p. 22). Mr. McCallum is a Scottish liberal of the Gladstonian tradition; he is also a man of academic mind, with the urbane, bantering humor which many Oxford dons seem able to bring to perfection. His defense of Versailles is purely relative. He admits many imperfections in the much-abused treaty, but he questions whether the postwar reaction against it was as wise as the treaty itself. "The passage of time has not on the whole led to more critical and balanced views upon the Treaty, but to more sweeping observations and judgements" (p. 62). Radicals accused it of lacking idealism, Tories of lacking realism. Many who blessed it at the time, reversing Balaam's case, cursed it later: "The propensity of statesmen to speak of events which they helped to shape as though they had only heard of them in text books always has, and no doubt always will, irritate and mystify historians" (p. 133). The most interesting part of the book deals with the process by which British Conservatives, once jingoists, became appeasers. He does not lay this trend to sinister fascist sympathies but rather to a mixture of isolationist dislike of Continental European politics, lack of understanding of the new nationalities in eastern Europe, and an English weakness for evading issues and postponing decisions as long as possible. American isolation was another fruit of the same tree as British appeasement, both being products of the Anglo-Saxon moralism which condemns the quarrels of Continental Europe but refuses to assume any real responsibility for keeping the peace.

Americans will be interested to note that the author believes that American co-operation was needed to win the first World War (p. 158) and that most Americans never claimed more than a fair share of credit for the victory (p. 159). Mr. McCallum's remedies for the future are somewhat dated by the swift march of events, and are of less value just now than they were when first mooted some two years ago—or, perhaps, twenty years ahead. He advocates a Union (federal in character, though for some unstated reason he objects to the term "federal") of the democratic and liberal nations of western Europe. The United States and Russia would not, apparently, be included, as they are already federal unions on their own account, and in alliance with Britain. The Dominions would not really object, though they "might feel like a grown-up son whose father marries again" (p. 202), as the author admits with a quiet chuckle. This is a book not to be missed by the historian who analyzes the past, the statesman who plans for the future, or any intelligent reader who merely wants three hours of keen and witty comment on the aftermath of Versailles.

PRESTON SLOSSON

**INTERNATIONAL RIVER AND CANAL TRANSPORT.** By *Sir Osborne Mance*, assisted by *J. E. Wheeler*. [International Transport and Communications.] Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. viii, 115, \$1.00.) "This volume describes broadly developments in the international regime from the time of Vienna to the peace treaties of 1919 and the Barcelona Conference. The general situation and the problems of specified waterways all over the world are examined in some detail, and particular attention is given to the principal European rivers."

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS BIBLIOGRAPHY: A SELECTED AND ANNOTATED LIST OF BOOKS ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1932-1942.** By *Robert Gale Woolbert*, Professor of History, Social Science Foundation, University of Denver. (New York, Harper and Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations, 1945, pp. xxi, 705, \$6.00.) Concerning this volume one may quote with full endorsement the statement on the dust jacket that it is an "indispensable reference work in libraries and editorial offices and on the desks of writers and scholars. This second volume lists ten thousand books published in the decade 1932-1942. Each entry is annotated and supplied with accurate bibliographical data such as the author's full name, the place and date of publication, the name of the publisher, and the number of pages. Some forty languages are represented, including five Oriental ones which did not appear in the previous volume—Turkish, Hebrew, Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese. The field of international relations, or 'foreign affairs,' has been interpreted broadly enough to include not only contemporary history, politics, diplomacy, economics and finance, international law and world organization, but such peripheral yet important subjects as political philosophy, comparative government, social development, religion, cultural relations, population and racial problems, and modern warfare. The first part of the book is devoted to these categories, followed by sections on the first and second World Wars. The remainder of the volume takes up in turn each continent, region, and country. In most cases the items are subdivided under various topical headings to facilitate reference. These territorial sections will prove to be of the utmost value to all those interested in the new area studies recently made popular by the Army and Navy wartime training programs. Altogether there are about five hundred separate classifications with careful cross references. A complete index to authors is provided." To this one may add that the classification and index greatly increase the usefulness of the volume. The typography has all the excellencies of the equally indispensable *Foreign Affairs*, upon whose quarterly bibliographies this volume is based, with titles

and evaluating comments added by Dr. Woolbert and the numerous expert collaborators.

VOICES OF HISTORY, 1944-1945: SPEECHES AND PAPERS OF ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL, STALIN, CHIANG, HITLER, AND OTHER LEADERS, DELIVERED DURING 1944. Edited by *Nathan Ausubel*. (New York, Phoenix Press, 1945, pp. 678, \$3.50.) "The fourth in an annual series of compilations of important speeches and state papers."

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Ancient History<sup>1</sup>

T. R. S. Broughton

THE BYZANTINE HOARD OF LAGBE. By *Edward T. Newell*. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 105.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1945, pp. 22, plates, \$1.00.)

## ARTICLES

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 EARLE P. CALEY. Ancient Greek Pigments from the Agora. *Ibid.*, Apr.  
 BENJAMIN D. MERITT. Attic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century. *Ibid.*  
*Id.* The Argives at Tanagra. *Ibid.*  
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 A. R. BELLINGER. King Antiochus in 151/0 B. C. *Hesperia*, Jan.

<sup>1</sup> Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

- F. W. WALBANK. Polybius, Philinus, and the First Punic War. *Class. Quar.*, Jan.  
 HUGH NIBLEY. *Sparsiones. Class. Jour.*, June.  
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 KARL LEHMANN. The Dome of Heaven. *Art Bull.*, Mar.  
 B. H. ST. J. O'NEIL. Grey Ditch, Bradwell, Derbyshire. *Antiquity*, Mar.

## Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

THE PROSPECTS OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at Cambridge 17 October 1944 by Z. N. Brooke, Professor of Medieval History. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. 32, 50 cents.) The writer gives a rather lugubrious picture of the state of medieval studies at Cambridge and in present-day England. His comments on the deficiencies of things done and the urgency of things to be done make a large and challenging program. The forthrightness savors of a man who has taught at Cambridge for thirty-five years and has only four more to go.

THE VITA CHRISTI OF LUDOLPHUS THE CARTHUSIAN. By Sister Mary Immaculate Bodenstedt. [The Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature, Volume XVI.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1944, pp. viii, 160.) This doctoral dissertation represents a diligent and careful study of a medieval churchman, who, while influential in his own day, was overshadowed by greater lights, notably Thomas à Kempis and Loyola. Nevertheless, the important work of Ludolph of Saxony, the *Vita Christi*, was not entirely obscured; indeed, according to the writer, it has appeared in over sixty editions since 1472. The *Vita Christi*, she states, "is rambling, lacking in balance, quite too long," but devout and deeply meditative. The work well deserves attention, for it was not only prescribed by the Carthusians for public reading in their refectories but also inspired by its mystic content Ignatius of Loyola and many other church leaders. The study begins with a survey of the life and writings of Ludolph and then proceeds to a consideration of the sources and influence of the *Vita Christi*. The fourth chapter deals with an analysis of the *Vita* and the fifth with Ludolph's contemplation of prayer. The care with which the source material and other references are quoted, whether in Latin, German, or French, is especially commendable. It might be queried why Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha* is cited rather than a recent and critical work, Hennecke's *Neutestamentliche Apocryphen*. However, it is evident that the writer has been assiduous in her effort to bring together all the pertinent facts concerning Ludolph and his *Vita Christi*. Of the more than a hundred sources from which Ludolph borrowed for his *Vita Christi*, the investigator has endeavored to find some not mentioned by Ludolph or not hitherto identified. She has given us a worthy insight into the spirit of this prominent Carthusian. JOHN C. ANDRESSOHN

WOMEN HEALERS IN MEDIEVAL LIFE AND LITERATURE. By Muriel Joy Hughes. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1943, pp. 180, \$2.00.) Modern women doctors writing concerning women in medicine have all too often manifested a defensively feminine attitude toward their subject. It is gratifying to find in the present volume (by a nonmedical woman) an objective and scholarly treatment. The author does not strain the evidence in favor of her sex. As an example one may note the rigorous handling of the evidence concerning Abbess Eloise, whom

(by contrast) Dr. Hurd-Mead once credited with a postgraduate course in medicine under Abelard. We feel, however, that in the case of Trotula, Miss Hughes's judgment is less convincing. After a masterly survey of the evolution of the Trotula tradition and of the drastic criticisms thereof by Singer, Sudhoff, and Spitzner, she accepts the legendary Trotula. Similarly unconvincing is her tendency to take it for granted that women healers "must" have employed the medical science of their day in healing. The author's greatest success is in the field of literature. She presents an interesting and formidable array of evidence concerning women in the less professional aspects of medical practice; *viz.*, as nurses, midwives, unlicensed practitioners, and empirical housewife-healers. The scope of the book in time and place is indicated by the outstanding women treated: Anna Comnena of eleventh century Constantinople, Isolt of Ireland, Arnive (King Arthur's mother), Trotula, Nicolette, Chaucer's Pertelote, Eloise, Hildegard, Jacoba Felicie of fourteenth century Paris, Elizabeth of Hungary, and the "Paston ladies" in England. In spite of the assertion that special emphasis is to be given to England (p. 4), attention is pretty well distributed. In Appendix I, which lists "Women Practitioners of the Later Middle Ages" (1100-1500), France has the majority of entries, England only one. Incidentally, this list should have included all the women healers mentioned in the volume. Appendix II is a serviceable "Glossary of Herbs." There is also an excellent bibliography. A determined reviewer can always pick flaws, but we have little to criticize, even in the chapters on "The Layman's Medicine" and "Academic Medicine," where the author turned aside from her stated subject (women) to survey general medical lore from Hippocrates through the Middle Ages. Here, and elsewhere in the volume, there was one irksome factor: the constant assertions or inferences to the effect that *internal* medicine was *herbal* medicine, external medicine usually being associated with surgery. As a matter of fact, medicaments were used both internally and externally (witness the ointments and plasters). Furthermore, although medicaments consisted principally of herbs, animal substances and minerals were much used. Nor were they merely "added to some medicines" (p. 106); they were used as simples and as major ingredients in compounds (note the data in medieval encyclopedias concerning the medical properties of animals and minerals). But Miss Hughes's volume is fundamentally sound, also highly informative, and it makes interesting reading. To illustrate the element of human interest and also certain marginal aspects of medieval healing, we present a portion of the author's quotation concerning Nicolette's psychotherapeutic treatment of Aucassin's "fit of madness":

You passed before his bed; Then you raised your train  
And your ermine pellise, The chemise of white linen,  
So that he saw your slender leg.

The pilgrim was healed And quite sound, as he had not been before.

LOREN C. MacKINNEY

THE REGISTER OF HENRY CHICHELE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1414-1443. Volume III. Edited by E. F. Jacob, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester; Fellow of All Souls College. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. 526, \$4.50.) The first volume of this work was noted in this *Review* in July, 1944 (XLIX, 781). The present volume contains some of the most important parts of the register, upon which Professor Jacob based his learned introduction in Volume I. These are the minutes of the Canterbury convocations, the records relating to vacant sees under archiepiscopal administration, and the documents dealing with Chichele's visitations. The editor has added a useful, brief appendix summarizing the convocations recorded in the register. Some of the

most interesting documents, those dealing with heretics, have been available for a long time in Wilkins' *Concilia*, but they appear here in much more complete form (including marginalia, which in one case is sufficiently ironic to suggest sympathy with the heretic), and the text corrects Wilkins where necessary. In his preface Professor Jacob calls attention to interesting "peculiarities of grammar and orthography, which here and there suggest that the scribe was working from rough notes, not copying a carefully drawn original." Each document is headed with a brief analysis of its contents. This provides the student with a calendar of the register parallel with the text. For certain parts dealing with repetitious administrative details the editor very wisely provides only the calendar, but he indicates any verbal variations which appear in the text and he gives additional informative details in the notes. It would be hard to find a more thorough and useful piece of editing. RICHARD A. NEWHALL

ARAB ARCHERY: AN ARABIC MANUSCRIPT OF ABOUT A.D. 1500 "A BOOK ON THE EXCELLENCE OF THE BOW AND ARROW" AND THE DESCRIPTION THEREOF. Translated and edited by *Nabih Amin Faris* and *Robert Potter Elmer*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1945, pp. xi, 182, \$3.00.) The collaboration of Dr. Faris and Mr. Elmer in translating and editing this volume on the mysteries of archery is fortunate and indeed necessary, for only by the co-operative effort of two specialists, each an authority on his own branch of the work, could such a volume have been produced. The technical vocabulary involved would have overwhelmed anyone less familiar with Arabic than Dr. Faris, and the explanation of the meaning of the terms once they had been translated, could only have been given with any degree of clarity by a past master in the art of archery. Mr. Elmer has been national archery champion eight times and has written the standard work in English on archery as well as articles in encyclopedias, etc. His notes and appendixes explain the text and justify the claim of the publishers that the book "could be used today as a textbook on archery." To such persons who, like the reviewer, thought of archery as a comparatively simple sport the book was a revelation, and I am frank to admit that archery seems to me now no less complicated and esoteric than modern ordnance. Whether a bow or a modern cannon has more parts I cannot say, but certainly the methods of getting the projectile under way have been simplified in modern ordnance as compared with the elaborate methods of shooting a bow and arrow described in this volume. The interest to the historian lies not so much in the technical description of archery as in the book as an example of fifteenth and sixteenth century Arabic expository writing. The text is a strange combination of the purely scholastic and the practical. Kinds of bows, kinds of arrows, methods of drawing, bracing, and releasing the bow, types of arrowheads and bowstrings are all discussed in a thoroughly scholastic manner with elaborate division and subdivision into kinds and types. Three main schools of archery are discussed and their various tenets analyzed: the schools of the three master archers Abu Hashim al Mawardi, Tahir al Balkhi, and Ishaq al Raqqi. No scholastic theologian weighs his authorities more carefully than does the author of this work. The parts of the bow are compared to the parts of the human body: wood to the skeleton, horn to the flesh, sinews to arteries, and glue to blood (p. 13). The treatise opens with a collection of quotations from the Koran and the Traditions on the excellency of the bow and its use in the Jihad and ends with a number of verses on the bow selected from the poets. The ever-present piety of the Moslem runs through the whole book, especially in such passages as that which requires that the bow when strung should be carried "in the manner in which the Apostle of God commanded that it should be carried, that is, as Gabriel carried his bow at the Battle of Badr and as Ali ibn abi Talib was wont to carry his" (p. 24). The injunction that



the archer always walk barefoot when picking up his arrows because the Prophet regarded the course between the archer and the target as a strip of Paradise is reduced by Elmer in a footnote to the practical consideration that by walking barefoot the archer can better feel out arrows which are buried in the ground. Several plates illustrate types of bows, knots, and the most interesting method of counting by bending the fingers of the hand to represent different digits, a method of counting which was considered lost, until brought to light in this treatise in connection with the various ways in which the arrow may be held.

JOHN L. LAMONTE

**MACHIAVELLI, THE SCIENTIST.** By *Leonardo Olschki*. (Berkeley, Gillick Press, 1945, pp. 58.) In a survey of recent research on the political thought of the Renaissance, Felix Gilbert remarks (*Huntington Library Quarterly*, IV [1940], 448), that modern scholarship on Machiavelli has chiefly focused on his "general philosophy" and that in this connection "the artistic and literary side of Machiavelli's intellectual make-up has been stressed." Through the very title of his book, Professor Olschki implies a new approach to the problem, for he is primarily interested in the question of "the scientific character of *The Prince*." He maintains that the two great Florentine contemporaries, Leonardo da Vinci and Machiavelli, were both searching for the same thing, a "*regola generale*" as "a common principle for the co-ordination of the prodigious variety of phenomena" they studied. But whereas Leonardo was never able to discover such a principle of order for his knowledge, Machiavelli, according to Professor Olschki, "had a more consistent and refined scientific instinct," because he based his whole philosophy on the axiom that human nature was always and everywhere the same. This axiom, Professor Olschki asserts (p. 31), "has its exact scientific counterpart in Galileo's fundamental assumption that 'matter is unalterable, i.e. always the same.'" To my mind the two principles assigned to Machiavelli and Galileo seem to be incommensurable, for the one is only a philosophical assumption, incapable of demonstration, whereas the other is a concept capable of experimental proof. Professor Olschki's basic thesis of Machiavelli as a "scientist" thus seems to require further illustration and more detailed substantiation in order to be accepted. But notwithstanding this criticism, the study in its present form contains very stimulating and original observations on two of Machiavelli's most fundamental concepts, those of *Fortuna* and *Virtù*.

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN

**NICHOLAS COPERNICUS: A TRIBUTE OF NATIONS.** Edited by *Stephen Paul Mizwa*. (New York, Kosciuszko Foundation, 1945, pp. 287, \$5.00.) "A record of contemporary civilization's reaction to Copernicus' life and works, published in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Copernicus, and the simultaneous publication of *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*."

**THE CIVILIZATION OF THE RENAISSANCE.** By *Jacob Christoph Burckhardt*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. 485, \$2.50.) "The Middlemore translation of the complete and unabridged second original edition."

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## Modern European History

### BRITISH EMPIRE

Francis H. Herrick

THE ECONOMIST, 1843-1943: A CENTENARY VOLUME. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. 178, \$2.50.) The editors of *The Economist* are to be congratulated that they did not try to write the history of *The Economist* as such. The interest in the volume would then have been confined largely to those who were directly connected with the publication. The centenary of *The Economist* did not fall in peacetime; if it had, according to the foreword, "the centenary . . . would have been commemorated with all the amplitude that wider leisure and infinite paper could make possible." It may be the results are better than if we had a ponderous tome. Be that as it may, we have before us ten essays, only two of which deal solely with *The Economist*. They set forth the vicissitudes through which the journal has passed in the hundred years of its existence with some indications as to the past, present, and future policies of the publication. It is hardly necessary to point out to the readers of this magazine the great influence exercised in its chosen field by *The Economist* at various times. It is to be regretted there is not and never has been in this country or elsewhere any publication comparable to *The Economist*. It has been a great liberal journal and perhaps it is not unfair to say it has been so also in a British party sense in that on the whole it has followed a Gladstonian tradition rather than, shall we say, that of a Disraeli. It is interesting to make note of Graham Hutton's statement on page 73 that half of its subscribers do not live in the British Isles. It may be that it is easier to produce in Great Britain a journal such as *The Economist* than it would be in this country with its far greater area and far less concentration of finance and commerce than prevails in Great Britain. In Great Britain, as in most countries, the political and financial capitals are identical. It might prove to be very instructive if some day a careful study were made of the effect of the separation of the chief money market from the political center upon the political and economic developments in this country. As indicated above nearly all of the essays are of much greater scope than might be deduced from the title of the book. They deserve a more detailed treatment than is possible within the limitations prescribed for this review. It is difficult to do more than classify the essays. The first two are concerned with *The Economist* as such. The following two essays are of special interest to historians and taken together are as good an account of the principal historical and social movements in the hundred years from 1843 to 1943 as this reviewer has seen in such limited space. The biographical sketch of Walter Bagehot by Francis W. Hirst—himself at one time editor of *The Economist*—does not and probably could not add anything to our knowledge of this great editor who perhaps more than even his father-in-law, James Wilson, founder and first editor, gave *The Economist* the prestige and reputation which it deserved and which it so largely maintained. The four remaining essays deal with more technical economic problems, such as the money market, the

stock exchange, records and statistics, and the trade cycle—all of them topics which belong peculiarly within the special purview of *The Economist*—and in all of which the periodical has been a most important commentator and at times the leading one. There are many specific points in these essays which the reviewer would like to discuss in detail if the space to do so had been accorded him. For example, there is on page 164 the apparent complete acceptance of the view that unemployment is the major factor in a given economic picture instead of possibly being only a symptom; also some of the statements of Graham Hutton deserve comment, as well as many others. As must be evident from this whole discussion, the book under review is perhaps of as great interest to the historian as to the economist, especially in these days when there is such a widespread belief that the course of events is largely determined by economic forces.

WALTER LICHTENSTEIN

THE STUDY OF SCOTTISH HISTORY: AN INAUGURAL LECTURE. By *William Croft Dickinson*, Fraser Professor of Ancient (Scottish) History and Palaeography in the University of Edinburgh. (Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association, 1945, pp. 17, 1s. 6d.)

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS. By *H. McD. Clokie*, University of Manitoba. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1945, pp. viii, 351, \$3.50.) Professor Clokie describes his survey of the Canadian government and politics as "being designed for those commencing a study of Canadian public affairs." It is just as well that this evaluation is qualified by the statement that the volume is "not intended to be elementary in the sense of omitting consideration of some of the more difficult and complex topics" or else Clokie's novice would need to be as omniscient as Macaulay's schoolboy. In its design and range this survey is a most useful pioneer study, not least because of its chapters on bibliographies, statistical tables, and documentary appendixes. In execution it is less satisfactory, particularly in its discussion of the contemporary working of federal institutions where the author shows himself less familiar with Ottawa than should be the case. When a new edition is called for, the erroneous use on numerous occasions of the title "Dominion of Canada" as a designation for this country should be corrected. Section 3 of the British North America Act speaks of "one Dominion *under the name of* Canada." But at the outset, perhaps to distinguish the new country from the old province of Canada the phrase "Dominion of Canada" came into widespread use. Today, when Dominion has the connotation of a status superior to colonial but still less than national, it is time that the correct title should alone be used, as it was, for instance, when Canada adhered to the Declaration of the United Nations in 1942. In his closing chapter the author assesses our future constitutional problems in an enlightening and salutary fashion which should be of interest to all students of federalism.

F. H. SOWARD

HOME TO INDIA. By *Santha Rama Rau*. (New York, Harper, 1945, pp. 236, \$2.50.) "Comments on new and old aspects of her native land by an Indian girl, the daughter of a Brahmin diplomat, who recently spent two years there between school in England and college in the United States."

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#### FRANCE

##### ARTICLES

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## NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

**NORWAY IN WORLD HISTORY.** By *Wilhelm Keilhau*. [Cross-Roads Series.] (London, MacDonald, pp. 206, 1944.) The Anglo-Saxon reader who wants a survey of Norway's history need no longer be dependent on Gathorne Hardy's poorly proportioned *Norway* or Gjerset's cumbersome and rather out-of-date *History of the Norwegian People*. He can turn to Dr. Keilhau's convenient volume, a survey which, though brief, is comprehensive in scope and based on close familiarity with Norwegian historical literature. There is included more of Norway's internal history than the title would suggest and less about her place in the main stream of European and international development. The exigencies of World War II have left their mark upon the volume. Thus, the preface announces that "the national individuality of the Norwegian people was formed and developed in those periods when the country, in some way or another, maintained constant and lively intercourse with all the Atlantic powers, whilst it decayed and declined during the five centuries in which Denmark and Sweden succeeded in keeping Norway within a narrow circle of Nordic isolation," and one of the concluding paragraphs maintains that "Norway has, also, a special and most serious reason for opposing a new Nordic Union." But in the chapters that lie between, this westward and Atlantic emphasis is not pressed to the extent suggested. As a venture in the writing of history for the general public, this volume does not reach the standard of the author's volumes in the co-operative work *Det norske folks liv og historie gjennom tidene*. The reasons are several: Main trends often tend to be obscured by the wealth of detail, most of it totally unfamiliar to English readers; points still in dispute among Norwegian historians are argued more fully than space here warrants; the English publishers (or their editors) have failed to turn into smooth expression or familiar idiom various awkward phrases—a defect which is no service to as competent and forceful a writer as Keilhau. However, these slight blemishes should deter no English reader who has an interest in the subject.

**EDUCATION IN DEMOCRACY: THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS OF DENMARK.**By *John Christmas Møller* and *Katherine Watson*. (London, Faber, 1944, pp. 160, 5s.)

**SVENSK FÖRSVARSPOLITIK 1743-1757 I DESS UTVECKLING OCH INRIKES-POLITISKA SAMMANHANG.** By *Leif Dannert*. (Stockholm, 1943, pp. xxiii, 381, 8 kr.).

**DET DANSKE SPROGS HISTORIE.** By *Peter Skaustrup*. (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1945.) Projected in three volumes; volume one covers the period A.D. 200-1350.

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N. GOODALL. At the Home Base of the Swedish Missions. *Internat. Rev. Missions*, Apr.R. CARR. Gustavus IV and the British Government. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Jan.M. C. CARLSON. Johannes Matthiae and the Development of the Church of Sweden during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century. *Church Hist.*, Dec.JOHN J. MURRAY. Sweden and the Jacobites in 1716. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May.M. SCHLAUCH. Scandinavia: The Dilemma of the Middle Way. *Sci. and Soc.*, Spring.W. R. MEAD. Renaissance of Iceland. *Ec. Geog.*, Apr.A. J. FISCHER. Finland's New Way. *Contemp. Rev.*, May.ALFRED BILMANIS. Grandeur and Decline of the German Balts. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.*, Dec.E. BENEDIKT. Sweden and the War. *Contemp. Rev.*, May.F. W. PICK. The Baltic Tug-of-War. *London Quar. of World Affairs*, Apr.

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND AUSTRIA

Ernst Posner

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

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## RUSSIA AND POLAND

*Avrahm Yarmolinsky*

KRYMSKAYA VOĬNA [THE CRIMEAN WAR]. Volume I. By *E. V. Tarle*. (Moscow-Leningrad, Izdat. Akademii nauk SSSR, 1944, pp. 567, 25 r.) This extensive monograph is based on printed sources as well as on manuscript materials in Russian archives. The first volume brings the story of the war down to the landing of the Allies in the Crimea in September, 1854.

IVAN GROZNYĬ [IVAN THE TERRIBLE]. By *R. Y. Vipper*. (Moscow-Leningrad, Izdat. Akademii nauk SSSR, 1944, pp. 160, 6 r.) In this revised edition of a work, which first appeared in 1922, the aged historian makes use of some unpublished manuscript sources.

THE UKRAINE: A SUBMERGED NATION. By *William Henry Chamberlin*. (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. 91, \$1.75.) A reader seeking information "in a nutshell" on the so-called Ukrainian question might be interested in this volume, although as a historical narrative it is not beyond reproach. For instance, Kiev was sacked by a nephew of Genghis Khan in 1240 and not in 1340 (p. 4), and it is very doubtful whether there is definite proof that the Ukrainian nationalist leader, Konovalets, was assassinated in 1938 by a Soviet agent (p. 67). Nevertheless, the book is written cleverly. Mr. Chamberlin adopts a very sympathetic view toward the Ukrainian cause. He speaks of "the heroic age" of the Ukraine, glorifies Ukrainian nationalist leaders (even those who have left a rather dubious record), emphasizes the freedom-loving qualities of the Ukrainians, and then, at a proper time, presents the reader with a contrast between the age-long struggle of the Ukrainians for freedom and their present oppression. The sufferings and persecution of the Ukrainians at the hands of the Poles and Russians are vividly depicted, especially during the Soviet rule. However, hostility toward the existing regime in Russia does not permit the author to recognize the significance of recent cultural and technical advance in the Ukraine which, in large part, is the expression of the creative ability and energy of the Ukrainian people themselves. On one occasion Mr. Chamberlin drops a remark, "In view of the many acts of oppression and terrorism which characterized the Soviet regime in the Ukraine it may seem surprising that the Ukrainians showed such an uncompromising spirit of resistance to the German invaders." An unbiased treatment of the subject might have prevented this surprise. Possibly the Ukraine is not quite as "submerged" today as Mr. Chamberlin would like the reader to believe.

GEORGE V. LANTZEFF

THE POLISH WORKER: A STUDY OF A SOCIAL STRATUM. By *Feliĵs Gross*. (New York, Roy Publishers, 1945, pp. 274, \$3.00.) "The social history and the

sociological structure of the Polish proletariat, its economic condition, Polish labor legislation, and the environment of the Polish worker. The author is a leader in the Polish labor movement."

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- N. GRATZIANSKI. Karl Velikii i slavyane [Charlemagne and the Slavs]. *Ibid.*, no. 3.
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- B. GREKOV. Obshchestvennyi stroi Galitzkoï Rusi v XIV-XV vv. [the social order in Halicz in the 14th and 15th centuries]. *Bull. de l'Académie des sciences de l'URSS, Série hist. et philos.*, 1, no. 5, 1944.
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- MICHAEL KARPOVICH. A Forerunner of Lenin: P. N. Tkachev. *Rev. Politics*, July, 1944.

## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE PACIFIC WORLD. By Felix M. Keessing, Professor of Anthropology, Stanford University. (New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. xv, 144, \$3.00.) "This handbook," says the author, "is designed primarily to help a visiting soldier or civilian understand and make friends with the peoples of the Pacific area." For this purpose they could have no better guide than Professor Keessing and no better handbook than this little volume. To his wide knowledge of the peoples and islands, the author joins the ability to write clearly and interestingly.

CHANG HSI AND THE TREATY OF NANKING, 1842. By Ssü-yü Têng. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. xi, 191, \$4.00.) Until the 1920's Occidental students of the last century of China's international relations were dependent largely upon such writers as Henri Cordier, Hosea B. Morse, and Tyler Dennett, not one of whom made more than incidental use of Chinese sources, though they did tap the translations contained in such contemporary journals as the *Chinese Repository*. For this they could scarcely be blamed, as the archives of the Ch'ing court were inac-

cessible. Then between 1930 and 1937 a whole series of basic Chinese documents, found in the Manchu palaces in Peking and Mukden, were published, greatly enriching our knowledge. These are now being exploited by a number of scholars to the better understanding of recent periods of conflict on Chinese soil. Dr. Têng, in presenting a translation of a recently discovered diary of a Chinese subordinate who participated in the events leading to the Anglo-Chinese treaty of Nanking, has checked every statement against these and other sources and verified the diary's trustworthiness and value. The contribution is a worthy one. We see through the diarist's eyes, and perceive how shockingly unprepared the Manchus and Chinese were to deal with the representatives of a major European power. Their main desire, no matter what the cost, was to eject the British from an inland city, and hope somehow to confine their ships and their people to a few ports far from Peking. To this end they hardly tried to understand the terms of the treaty brought by Sir Henry Pottinger. Besides the translation, discussion of other accounts, and an excellent bibliography, there is an occasional note which is illuminating. (Cf. notes 226 and 239 on the prohibition against the possession of weapons by private persons, and the method of attack by fire rafts.) Only at one point has the reviewer found an omission which might have been avoided. The financial commissioner Wang T'ing-lan, who is mentioned on page 105, was a native of Ku-shih, Honan, and took the final degree in 1822. (See his biography in *Kuang-chou chih*, 1887, 9/54b.)

L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH

BEFORE FINAL VICTORY: SPEECHES BY GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK, 1943-1944. (New York, Chinese News Service, 1945, pp. 80, 25 cents.)

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## United States History

E. C. Burnett

## GENERAL

- CLIPPER SHIP MEN. By *Alexander Laing*. (New York, Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1944, pp. 279, \$3.00.) This book is an attempt to describe the stages by which the clipper ship was "invented." Mr. Laing's study is at once suggestive and exasperating. It brings together numerous interesting interpretations, but they are intermingled with a large amount of irrelevant material which has little to do with the story. The

treatment invites comparison with *Steamboats Come True*, in which Simon Flexner sought to do the same thing for the steamer. The clipper volume suffers in the comparison; the relative contributions of Palmer, Griffiths, Pook, and McKay are not treated with quite the same mature, critical analysis as those of Fitch, Stevens, and Fulton. The author states his purpose as follows: "Those who want the story of *what* happened should read Clark and Cutler, in that order. Both books splendidly describe the great ocean races when the clippers dashed and bucked around watery tracks almost neck and neck all the way. Cutler and Clark have left us little to write about except the great question: 'Why?' . . . This book tells the story of man's effort to imagine the perfect ship." Laing takes occasional running starts back in earlier centuries, but his principal contribution lies in the later chapters on the American experience. The influence of the British blockade, in giving the initial American impetus toward speed, is followed by Humphrey's work with frigates, and the demands and developments of the packet service, before coming into the detailed contributions of the "Big Four," when economic conditions produced the still more insistent demand for speed. The descriptions of mold lofts, dead rise, and the like will be of real service to the uninitiated, as will some of the excellent diagrams and illustrations. The best reading in the book is in the second chapter, with a vivid description of the *Sovereign of the Sea's* record bursts of speed when, in 1853, "for the first time in the world's history a ship had sailed more than 400 sea miles in 24 hours." Mr. Laing's talent in such descriptions had already made his fictional *Sea Witch* an extremely readable, if not altogether accurate, story of another great clipper. ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION

REGISTER OF OFFICER PERSONNEL, UNITED STATES NAVY AND MARINE CORPS, AND SHIPS' DATA, 1801-1807. Prepared by the Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, under the supervision of *Captain Dudley W. Knox*. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1945, pp. iv, 86, plates, \$1.50.)

ANGEL IN THE FOREST: A FAIRY TALE OF TWO UTOPIAS. By *Marguerite Young*. (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1945, pp. 313, \$3.00.) The story of New Harmony is always of absorbing interest for those interested in communistic and socialistic experiments. In this historical fable of New Harmony the author tells the story of what she calls the two utopias, the one under Father Rapp, "negative and dictatorial," and the other under Robert Owen, "positive and democratic." The "fairy tale of two utopias" begins with a description of New Harmony today and then proceeds with a backward glance to the beginning of Father Rapp's colony which was established in 1814 on the Wabash River near its junction with the Ohio. A similar effort had been made earlier at Harmony, Pennsylvania. However, due to discouragements and an opportunity to dispose of the settlement of New Harmony, the Rappists returned to Pennsylvania, establishing a second colony in that state at Economy, near Pittsburgh. Robert Owen, who was dreaming of a new social philosophy, sought a place in America to put his ideas into concrete operation. Learning through the *Times* in 1824 that a town in the American wilderness was for sale, Owen proceeded to investigate this opportunity and bought the whole New Harmony community with all its buildings and equipment. At the suggestion of his son, Robert Dale, who became not only one of the leaders here but in the state and nation as well, the name New Harmony was continued although the elder Owen had considered New Lanark, the name of the community which they had just left in Scotland. He proceeded to put his perfectionist ideas into operation. While Father Rapp had based his community on superstition, ignorance, and hard work, Robert Owen based his on reason, nature, division of labor, and education. Miss Young has previously

published two books of poetry. This book, written after much research, is not a recital of facts, but rather a history in poetic prose with the facts embroidered with fancy, humor, and a touch of irony which, to some extent, detract from the history. She is a native of Indiana and a former member of the Indianapolis High School faculty. All in all the book is a distinct contribution to the rather extensive bibliography on New Harmony.

HARLOW LINDLEY

#### AMERICAN MEDICAL PRACTICE IN THE PERSPECTIVES OF A CENTURY.

By *Bernhard J. Stern*, Lecturer in Sociology, Columbia University; Visiting Professor of Sociology, Yale University. [Studies of the New York Academy of Medicine, Committee on Medicine and the Changing Order.] (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1945, pp. xi, 156, \$1.50.) This is the first in a series of monographs inaugurated by the New York Committee on Medicine and the Changing Order to provide "the framework for an understanding of the current medical situation and its trends." The volumes to follow will include studies of rural medicine, industrial medicine, dentistry, medical education, medical research, the American hospital, and nursing. The monographs are intended to be historical in character, in the hope that the story of medicine's evolution will reveal its failures as well as its successes, and also "the lag in the adjustment of medicine to the social needs of today." Sharing the belief expressed by Dr. Iago Galdston in the preface, that if the history of medicine is to be more than a romantic tale of miracles and heroes it must be studied in the context of social history as a whole, Dr. Stern has here set himself the task of describing the reciprocal effects of medical practice and other forms of social change in the United States. He has attempted to show how the development of American society "from a locally subsisting agricultural economy . . . to an urban mechanized industrial economy with concentrated ownership, in which there are wide income variations," has affected the health of the people and their ability to obtain the kind of medical care made possible by concurrent developments in medical science and technology. Considering the fewness of his pages, he has succeeded remarkably well in this sizable task, though historians are likely to feel that his historical exposition, segregated in the opening chapters, is much too streamlined to do more than suggest the crosscurrents of the past. The present interplay of the various forces comes somewhat clearer. The second half or more of the book presents a survey, often heavily statistical, of such matters as the supply and geographic distribution of physicians, their income and "patient load," and the accessibility of medical services in various parts of the country and different types of community. From this presentation the conclusion seems inescapable that "medical and sanitary science knows the answers, but medical and social practice has lagged, impeded by economic factors."

HELEN CLAPESATTLE

INTIMATE MEMORIES OF LINCOLN: A COMPANION VOLUME TO LINCOLN AMONG HIS FRIENDS. Edited by *Rufus Rockwell Wilson*. (Elmira, N. Y., Primavera Press, 1945, pp. 629, \$5.00.) "A gathering of personal reminiscences, many heretofore unpublished, of friends and followers of Lincoln."

LINCOLN BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1839-1939. Compiled by *Jay Monaghan*, Illinois State Historical Library. With a Foreword by James G. Randall, University of Illinois. Two volumes. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, edited by Paul M. Angle, Volumes XXXI, XXXII; Bibliographical Series, Volumes IV, V.] (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Library, 1945, pp. xlv, 519; xi, 560, \$5.00.) After searching through libraries and private collections in every part of the country Mr. Monaghan has compiled 3,958 titles for a Lincoln bibliography which supplants all its predecessors. The two volumes, covering the years 1839-1939, comprise a century of Lincolniana. The



items are listed chronologically under the year of original publication; they are indexed by authors but not by subjects or titles. The compiler has made a careful descriptive analysis of each entry. From the bewildering maze of titles found in these pages it would appear that the Lincoln theme is truly inexhaustible. Among them, Professor Randall notes in his foreword, are "Lincoln and his druggist, Father Abraham, Lincoln and Catholicism, Lincoln's clemency, his umbrella, his soul, and the women he loved." Lincoln dealers and collectors will find this work indispensable; historians of the period will find it useful, but disappointing in some respects. The definition of *Lincolniana* adopted by Mr. Monaghan excludes from the list all periodical material (although reprints are listed if, perchance, the title page, type, or pagination vary from the original printing!), general works on the Civil War, however prominently Lincoln figures in them, and published sources like the Welles, Bates, and Browning diaries. Historians who consult this bibliography will find little consolation in the fact that the definition is broad enough to permit the inclusion of "several hundred funeral sermons." The rigid application of the new *Lincolniana* definition has other disturbing consequences. Thus congressional speeches about Lincoln printed as broadsides are excluded, but they are listed if printed on a folder. Again: "The definition has proved adequate also for the publications of the American Missionary Association, few of which have any informational value." Mr. Monaghan admits these and other seeming illogicalities and injustices but insists that they were unavoidable. Nevertheless, results like these make the historian wish that bibliographers would temper their canons with the rule of reason.

KENNETH M. STAMPP

**CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT: A BIOGRAPHY.** By *Mary Gray Peck*. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1944, pp. 495, \$3.00.) Carrie Chapman Catt has become almost a legend in her own lifetime. Her work for the advancement of women began under the tutelage of the old suffrage warriors—Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony—and continued for two decades after women's enfranchisement in the United States had been won. It is with difficulty that the story of her prodigious labors is compressed into this volume of 495 pages. The decisive contribution which Mrs. Catt brought to the suffrage cause can be summed up in the single word "organization." One exhausting and unsuccessful campaign across the prairies of South Dakota convinced her that agitation alone would never win the vote for women. From that time, every step of the suffrage movement profited by her cool analysis of means necessary for the end; her bold, large-scale plans, worked out in painstaking detail; her energetic organization of the suffrage forces; and, by no means least, her practical capacity for raising money. Her conviction that the suffrage campaign must be changed from a missionary crusade to a political movement was an essential element in its final success. Few men, if any, can have made as many speeches, covered as much territory, or set as many people working in behalf of any cause. Her labors extended around the world. As president and guiding spirit of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance for over twenty years, she visited most of the countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America, shrewdly observing the situation of women and kindling enthusiasm for women's advancement. She was honored not only by suffragists but by government dignitaries and royalty. In her sixties, with the vote secured for women in the United States, she characteristically turned to the future, channeling suffrage forces into a new organization of her own devising—the League of Women Voters—for nonpartisan education of women voters and acting as chairman, leader, and general inspirer of that practical organization for education on the means of attaining peace—the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. With so much ground to cover, it is no wonder that a biography of Carrie Chapman Catt should



become a chronicle of events in which she figured rather than an interpretation of character. But it is a pity. Mrs. Catt's character is worth a study. She combined loftiness of spirit (as one of her admirers said, she could be counted on to turn a slogan into a prayer) with pungent, down-to-earth saltiness of phrase. She maintained a stouthearted belief in the beneficent influence of women freed, yet she had a general skepticism regarding the perfectibility of the human race. The glimpses of her personality that do come through the pages of this biography make the reader wish for fewer meetings enumerated and more Mrs. Catt.

RUTH WILSON TRYON

THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDWARD BELLAMY. By *Arthur Ernest Morgan*. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1945, pp. 103, \$1.60.)

PRINCIPIO TO WHEELING, 1715-1945: A PAGEANT OF IRON AND STEEL. By *Earl Chapin May*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1945, pp. xiv, 335, \$3.00.) This is a difficult book to review. It is difficult to review because it is difficult to read and because the author in turn exasperates and tantalizes the reader. In substance, *Principio to Wheeling* is industrial history but to make a seemingly dull subject bright the author has chosen to enlarge and enliven his tale by employing the meretricious devices of the writer of class B fiction and romance. However successful such methods may be in catching and holding the attention of the casual reader in search of an evening's diversion, they do little to promote the cause of popular history. Unfortunately for the serious reader, the absence of both documentation and a full statement of sources makes it impossible to surmise where solid fact leaves off and literary creativeness begins. Confidence in the more substantial parts of the book is further weakened by something more than a suspicion that its preparation and publication is part of the public relations program of a steel corporation, based evidently on the assumption that even garbage pails and corrugated roofing will sell better if provided with a colorful yet dignified ancestry. The core of the volume is the story of the careers and achievements of a number of iron manufacturers who in one way or another became associated with the development of the industry at Wheeling. The first bid of this industrial town for fame was made in its rivalry with Pittsburgh to capture the transshipment business in the rich East-West trade across the mountains. Failing to achieve distinction as a commercial center despite her selection as the Ohio River terminus of the National Road and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Wheeling settled down to an unspectacular but far from uninteresting industrial career in which iron played the leading role. Although greatly overshadowed by Pittsburgh and unable to compete effectively in the production of the major products of blast furnace and rolling mill, Wheeling ironmasters made a distinct place for themselves by giving their principal attention to such specialized products of iron and steel as nails, tin plate, galvanized iron, and pipe. The substantial beginning of this development dates from about 1830, but to supply the remote origins so prized by the antiquarian, the author spends the first one hundred pages of the book in tracing a collateral genealogical root back to the founding of the Principio ironworks in 1715 in eastern Maryland by a group of Englishmen. The connection while relevant is not of importance. The story of the Wheeling iron industry is then told in a series of chapters which describe in turn the history of particular plants, the contributions of individual ironmasters, the introduction of new products and processes, and various phases and episodes in the general history of Wheeling. The merit of the treatment centers in the portrayal of the difficulties met and overcome by the mill owners, the adaptation of the mills to new conditions of demand, of competition, and of technology, and the changes in organization and ownership made in response to changing conditions. The story

reaches its climax in the merger of three of the older companies into a single corporation. Despite its lack of objectivity, balance, and documentation, this volume contains much that is interesting and suggestive for the student of American industrial history.

LOUIS C. HUNTER

#### HISTORY OF THE JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

Edited by *E. Tcherikower*. Volume II. (New York, Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1945, pp. 518.) While the first volume of this work deals with the milieu in which the Jewish labor movement developed (see *American Historical Review*, XLIX [July, 1944], 763), the second volume, under review, is a study of the movement itself, its inception and its first steps in the 70's and 80's. The two volumes are a testimony to the broad conception held by the editors of this collective work in regard to the labor movement as including the economical and political struggle of labor as well as socialist ideology. The two volumes also reveal the wide range of the editors' approach to the problems involved. These problems are elucidated with detailed thoroughness. The Jewish labor movement in the United States was born as a fusion of two trends—the attempts of the workers, immigrants from eastern Europe, to raise their standard of living, and the aspiration for social justice that prevailed among the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia. This fusion took place in the second half of the 80's, and in the early 90's the movement was already growing out of the infant stage. After reviewing the history of trade unions and socialist ideas in the United States, the authors consider in detail the aspirations of the Jewish intelligentsia which had emigrated from Russia. Their aspirations originated in the experience of the Russian revolutionary movement, in the ideological crisis brought about by the pogroms in the 80's, and bore also the influence of various trends in Jewish national thought. The movement took definite shape in London, where revolutionary immigrants from various countries had gathered; it was in London in the middle 70's that the first Jewish Socialist organization was formed, and later the Jewish anarchist groups. London exercised considerable influence upon Jewish Socialism and anarchism in the United States. The incentive to build more solid organizations came as a result of the tragic events in 1886 (the Haymarket tragedy). In the same year a union of Jewish anarchists was formed under the name "Pioneers of Freedom," and a year later Jewish Socialists founded the so-called Eighth Branch of the Socialist Labor party. Simultaneously the first Jewish trade unions came into being. Among the peculiar features of the Jewish labor movement in the United States should be mentioned—apart from the role played by the intelligentsia—the influence of the German Socialist and trade union movement which earlier had taken firm root in America. In the 70's and 80's the American labor movement exercised little influence on Jewish labor, though the influence of the American way of life is obvious. But the Americanization of the Jewish labor movement was achieved at a later period, when it grew into a mass movement of Jewish workers in the United States. The volume under review contains a wealth of material and will provide useful reading to those interested in the Jewish labor movement.

BORIS SAPIR

THE JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES. By *Herbert Hewitt Stroup*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. vii, 181, \$2.50.) The Jehovah's Witnesses, a curiously provocative religious sect, whose members have recently gained notoriety by refusing to salute the flag and to do military service, have been peculiarly resistant to historical investigation. Scholarship, they hold, is the work of Satan. Milton Stacey Czatt, a theological student at Yale, made the first systematic survey of the origins and beliefs of the group for his doctoral dissertation (1929), restricting most of his attention to

the Witnesses' theology and its fallacies. He did sketch their history, examined the life and teachings of Charles Taze Russell, their founder, and managed to sit in on some of their semisecret sessions. He was denounced as an agent of Satan for attempting to ascertain the nature of their membership. Mr. Stroup has carried on from there. He spent several years talking with various Witnesses, attending their meetings, studying their attitudes, discussing with them their reasons for conversion, and has collected much material for a study of the growth of a religious movement. His report is a useful and, granting its limitations, informative study of the organization, finances, literature, workers, attitudes, and beliefs of this sect. His presentation of the material is not, however, well organized; and, although he is apparently in possession of a great deal of firsthand data, he is rather reluctant to use much of it, relying more often than he should on quotation from printed sources for illustration rather than on personal experiences. The historical background is somewhat sketchier than it need be. (The *Dictionary of American Biography* contains a biography of Russell, which he seems to have overlooked.) His sources are sometimes suspect—the "facts" of Pastor Russell's divorce, for example, he gets from an anti-Witness pamphlet (pp. 9–10), rather than checking them against court records or contemporary newspapers. Mr. Stroup is also very sketchy on legalistic implications of Witness activity: he is quite unaware of the fact that the *Gobitis* decision of 1940 (310 U. S. 586), which he mentions (p. 163), was reversed by the Supreme Court in 1943 (319 U. S. 624). His seeing an analogy between the theological determinism of Armageddon and "communist ideology" (pp. 157–58) is farfetched. Despite these faults, Mr. Stroup has done sociologists and historians a real service in bringing together conveniently such facts as are available about an important, militant religious minority.

ALEXANDER JOHN ALEXANDER

A CENTURY WITH YOUTH: A HISTORY OF THE Y.M.C.A. FROM 1844 TO 1944. By *Sherwood Eddy*. (New York, Association Press, 1944, pp. ix, 153, \$1.50.)

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING: A SELECTED AND ANNOTATED LIST OF REFERENCES. Compiled by *Francis Cheney*. (Washington, Library of Congress, 1945, pp. 147, gratis to libraries.)

NEA HISTORY: THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRAM. By *Mildred Sandison Fenner*. (Washington, National Education Association, 1945, pp. 160, 50 cents.)

THE HAYS OFFICE. By *Raymond Moley*. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1945, pp. 266, \$3.75.) "A description of the activities of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, headed by Will Hays, in getting the members of the movie industry to work together and, through the Production Code Administration, supervising the ban on morally objectionable material in pictures."

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Volume VI, JULY, 1943–JUNE, 1944. Edited by *Leland M. Goodrich*, Director, World Peace Foundation, and *Marie J. Carroll*, Chief, Reference Service. (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1945, pp. xxx, 725, \$3.75.) This new volume in the documentary series issued by the World Peace Foundation is on the same high plane of selection and editing found in previous volumes. The period covered was a momentous one, not only in the successful prosecution of the war but in the formulation of plans for postwar organization. The editors note in their preface the shift of emphasis to documents bearing on postwar problems and the introduction of new chapter headings for such documents. Included are the

Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran declarations, the Fulbright and Connally resolutions, the UNRRA agreement and the resolutions on policy adopted at the first session of that body, the first report of the Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture, the Philadelphia Declaration of Aims and Purposes of the ILO, the Bretton Woods agreements for an International Monetary Fund and International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (which readers will be glad to find in this volume despite the fact that by date they do not belong here), and the preliminary statement of plans for a United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals, of course, came too late for the present volume, but the general character of the security organization contemplated is foreshadowed in statements by Secretary Hull, Assistant Secretary Long, and President Roosevelt in April and June, 1944. Of the major United Nations agencies now in being or taking shape, only the Civil Aviation Organization is not suggested in at least preliminary form in these documents. Emphasis on documents looking ahead to the postwar world is not meant to suggest any lack of material bearing on the war itself. Sections corresponding to those in earlier volumes are labeled "Defense and Prosecution of the War," "The Axis Powers," "The United Nations," "The Western Hemisphere," "Eastern Asia and the Pacific Area," and "Europe, Africa, and Western Asia." There is also a section on "Conduct of Foreign Relations," in which is included, among other things, the forty-page State Department order of January, 1944, describing the reorganization of that department. The great usefulness of this annual series has been recognized since the publication of the first volume; may the good work go on! JULIUS W. PRATT

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE STORY OF A COUNTRY MEDICAL COLLEGE: A HISTORY OF THE CLINICAL SCHOOL OF MEDICINE AND THE VERMONT MEDICAL COLLEGE, WOODSTOCK, VERMONT, 1827-1856. By *Frederick Clayton Waite*. (Montpelier, Vermont Historical Society, 1945, pp. 213, \$4.50.)

RAFINESQUE IN LEXINGTON, 1819-1826. By *Huntley Dupre*. [Kentucky Monographs, No. 2.] (Lexington, Ky., Bur Press, 1945, pp. 118, \$3.50.) "A characterization and evaluation of Rafinesque, the American botanist, and an account of the seven years during which the scientist served as a professor in Transylvania University, Lexington."

HAWTHORNE, CRITIC OF SOCIETY. By *Lawrence Sargent Hall*. [Yale Studies in English, Volume 99.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1944, pp. xii, 200, \$3.00.) The thesis of this book is that Hawthorne was transformed in the years between his Brook Farm days (1842) and the years of his Liverpool consulship (1853-56) from a sharp critic of American mores into a champion of the opportunistic democracy of his time. In the earlier phase he was dissatisfied with his society; in his later years he found America's mode of existence "the best the world had to offer." Yet Hawthorne was never completely "adjusted" to his society. His "productive maladjustment" contained enough idealism to make him critical of that society, but not so much as to make him reject it. Mr. Hall maintains that this "poised criticism" made it possible for him to write real tragedy, because it enabled him to "portray that hard necessity which men feel to reconcile what is and what is desired." In developing this thesis Mr. Hall provides new documentation and insights in at least three chapters. In "Humanitarian Reform" he shows that Hawthorne did not escape the contemporary zeal for remaking the world. Though he disliked the absolutism of most reformers, he pushed, with political astuteness, the reform of the disgraceful conditions in the American merchant marine. "Decade between Theory and Practice" illustrates well how high-minded democrats of Hawthorne's time contrived to justify the spoils system while manipulating it for their own advantage. Hawthorne diligently milked his consulship until he had accumulated \$30,000, but his "take" did not trouble his conscience. The chapter on Hawthorne's connections with "Young America" shows that his chauvinism equaled if it did not exceed that of any of his contemporaries. Only half in jest did he say of England that he loved it so much that "I want to annex it, and it is by no means beyond the scope of possibility that we may do so, though hardly in my time." In dealing with Hawthorne's rationalization of the slavery dilemma (in "Sixes and Sevens") Mr. Hall could have been more thorough. Since the issue was forced upon all radical democrats, it would have been useful to consider Hawthorne's predicament as representative and not as so particular with him. The final chapter, "The Social Ethic," traces the effect in Hawthorne's fiction of his "productive maladjustment." Curiously enough, Mr. Hall does not discuss the differences in social outlook between Hawthorne's earlier and his later work but is concerned only with the novels. Unfortunately, for the purposes of his thesis, *The Scarlet Letter* comes too early to exhibit the transformation and the "English Romance," though late, is too fragmentary to be usable. The evidence and the ideas offered earlier in the book do furnish, however, a new orientation for *The House of the Seven Gables*.  
WILLARD THORP

WALDEN REVISITED: A CENTENNIAL TRIBUTE TO HENRY DAVID THOREAU. By *George F. Whicher*. (Chicago, Packard, 1945, pp. 93, \$2.00.) This



little volume is a delightfully written biography and reappraisal of Thoreau. The author is professor of English and American literature in Amherst College, known previously for his study of Emily Dickinson.

#### ANCESTORS' BROCADES: THE LITERARY DEBUT OF EMILY DICKINSON.

By *Millicent Todd Bingham*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1945, pp. xiii, 464, \$3.75.) On November 21, 1898, the supreme judicial court of Massachusetts sustained the verdict of a lower court in the case of *Dickinson v. Todd*, which restored a small piece of property to Lavinia Dickinson, surviving sister of the poet Emily Dickinson. This land had been promised by Austin Dickinson, the brother, to Mabel Loomis Todd, wife of a professor of astronomy at Amherst College, as part compensation for her work in editing Emily's poems and letters, and had been deeded to Mrs. Todd by Lavinia. By appealing to the judge in the well-acted role of injured innocence, Lavinia won her "Pyrrhic victory," as Mrs. Bingham calls it, in the face of five witnesses and factual testimony overwhelmingly against her, on the ground that "temperament, experience and habits of life" are factors which should be taken into account in determining the truth. The immediate results of this decision were that the publication of Emily's poetry and prose, which had been moving forward for six years under the co-operation of Lavinia, Mrs. Todd, and T. W. Higginson, was stopped for a generation, the petty feuds among the poet's family and friends were cut deep in hurt sensibilities that could not be healed except by death, many of the unpublished manuscripts were permanently lost except for copies, and the most aggravating problem in American literary history was made virtually insoluble. Mrs. Todd's daughter, a scientist in her own right, has done much to clear the issue by publishing a case history, together with a volume of poems copied but never published by her mother. The book is not a pretty one, as skeletons rattle on every page, nor is it smooth reading, as it is made up of scraps of evidence from diaries, letters, and poems of the various persons involved, pieced together with objective and amazingly dispassionate care. But it is a valuable case history, essential not only to the student of Emily and her work but to the historian of nineteenth century New England. Here the private life of a real "New England nun," a "white old maid" in the fact, is laid bare. An understanding of the peculiarities of Lavinia Dickinson goes far toward making comprehensible the reticence and repressions, the mysticism and psychological decadence, into which at least a part of American society had fallen by the latter years of the century. The ultimate victim of the theocratic and patriarchal government of early New England was the unmarried and ungifted woman of the 90's who, when she "selects her own society, then shuts the door," finds only a barren room haunted by fearful ghosts. The fresh air of twentieth century science and skepticism was needed to make the millions of Lavinias now types of a past social organism. As their chief characteristic was reticence, evidence on their obscure and buried lives is difficult to obtain. Mrs. Bingham has done the historian a service which she probably did not fully anticipate, in addition to that service to the memories of the poet and her editor for which the task was undertaken.

ROBERT E. SPILLER

FRANCE AND RHODE ISLAND, 1686-1800. By *Mary Ellen Loughrey*. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1944, pp. 186, \$2.25.) Monographs such as this fulfill a real function in the writing of history. Without minute studies of particular place and time the general historian would be at a loss for authentic material to substantiate his documented generalizations. This author has been meticulous, has exhausted the available material, and, to her credit may it be said, has uncovered a number of heretofore unknown sources. There are 423 footnotes to 141 pages of text and 13½ pages



of bibliography. This reviewer could not find time to check all these sources, though most of them can be found in the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Those which have been checked have been found adequate. In most cases, the author has gone to the sources—the newspapers and the reasonably current reminiscences. But an overcautious critic might find some fault with her reliance on the nineteenth century historians or antiquarians, e.g., E. M. Stone, *Our French Allies* (1884), and George Champlin Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport* (1884). The author obviously is not a sailor or she never would have written (p. 21) that "The fleet dropped anchor near Brenton's Reef." It would be a foolhardy mariner, even today, who would attempt an anchorage ten miles from the city and on a lee shore. Obviously, the author intended to refer to Brenton's Point (now Fort Adams) which forms the westerly arm of Tarpaulin Cove, the principal deep water harbor at Newport. The Atlantic Ocean, with all its 3,000 miles, was not wide enough to separate French and Americans, each of whom found a way to cross it. This monograph is a detailed document to prove their close association. As a student, and as a reviewer, one wonders about the format of such a publication. All the footnotes appear at the end of the monograph under the chapter numbers but not the titles and with no page references. This arrangement, followed by many publishers, is one to which this reviewer objects.

WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER

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# SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

GUIDE TO MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. Compiled by the North Carolina Historical Records Survey, Service Division, Work Projects Administration, and the Staff of the Manuscript Department of the Duke University Library. Edited by *Nannie May Tilley*. [Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXVI.] (Durham, Duke University Press, 1945, pp. 530, \$2.00.) "The various manuscript collections listed herein relate chiefly to the southern area of the United States and include abundant materials on the Confederate period, slavery, plantation life, the culture and manufacture of tobacco and cotton, politics, religion, and literature. Materials are included also for other sections of the country, as, for example, six hundred manuscripts and letters of Walt Whitman, the official files of the Socialist party of America (1900-1918), and several small collections of materials centering around various English writers."

RECOMMENDED READINGS FOR THE FLORIDA CENTENNIAL: A STANDARD GUIDE TO THE BEST BOOKS ON FLORIDA WITH HELPFUL EXPLANATIONS AND CRITICAL EVALUATIONS. By *A. J. Hanna*. (Winter Park, Fla., Union Catalog of Floridiana, 1945, pp. 63, cloth \$1.00, paper 50 cents.)

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT ON HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, FOR THE YEAR 1943-44. (Charlottesville, University of Virginia, 1944, pp. 50.)

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- LAURA L. PORTEOUS and WALTER PRICHARD. Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana, LXXX. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- JULIA KATHRYN GARRETT. Dr. John Sibley and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier [cont.]. *South-western Hist. Quar.*, Apr.

#### WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

PLAINVILLE, U. S. A. By *James West*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. xv, 238, \$2.75.) Although both Plainville and James West are pseudonyms, the former can be identified in a short time with the aid of a good atlas. The reviewer can vouch for the accuracy of this book because he was "born and brought up" in much the same sort of community as the author describes. The only differences are that it was in Indiana, not Missouri; it was 1904-14 instead of now; there was a railroad and no hills, for the land was all good prairie land and the folks were all good prairie folks, though some of them had come out of the hills. Plainville should be read by two groups of people: those who came out of a Plainville environment and those who did not. If the author belongs to the first group, he is to be congratulated on the impartial viewpoint he has achieved. If he belongs to the second group, he is to be congratulated upon his interest, his insight, and his understanding concerning Plainville. He has had the good sense to write without employing the technical terms that some sociologists affect to find indispensable. In fact, it is one of the delightful features of the book that the vernacular of Plainville is employed wherever possible. There is not a single serious error, not a dull page, and the index is unusually complete. "The short and simple annals of the poor" are developed with easy sureness into 250 pages of detailed description and discerning analysis of what turns out to be a highly complex society. The story of the impact of modern invention upon the economic, social, and religious habits of this farming community makes fascinating and instructive reading. The contradictions between what people believe and what they do, the complicated class structure of a supposedly classless society, and the hodgepodge resulting when people adopt some new pattern without completely discarding the old one are all well brought out. Plainville is an important book today. It will be even more important to American historians a hundred years hence.

HARVEY L. CARTER

THE WILD HORSE OF THE WEST. By *Walker D. Wyman*. (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1945, pp. 348, \$3.50.) Dr. Wyman has written a book whose unquestioned usefulness is considerably diminished by looseness of organization, repetitiousness, occasional contradictions, some misinformation, and an elasticity of judgment that has the author reversing some of his most important conclusions from part to part. He has beaten all the covers and turned up an astonishing amount of

information about the mustang and its various successors which up to recently roamed the West in wild herds, but he has not dealt critically with the information. Thus on pages 275-78 he twice reverses himself when trying to decide whether strayed stock degenerated under feral conditions, leaving the reader uncertain which of three conclusions to accept. He displays a similar indecisiveness in regard to many of the very questions for which a student of western history would consult his book. Dr. Wyman is soundest and most useful in his discussion of the havoc done to the range by wild horses from about 1880 on, the nature and fluctuations of the market, the organized efforts to destroy the herds, and the eventual destruction. He has nothing new to say about the origin of the mustang, resting solidly on Francis Haines's demonstration that the Plains Indians got horses not from strays of De Soto or Coronado but from New Mexican ranches, with the corollary that the wild herds developed from Indian strays. He demonstrates that the original Spanish stock was inferior and that it did not tend to improve when the Indians got hold of it. But what he has to say about the Indians' use of the horse is in general thin and sometimes undependable. Thus he remarks that the Indians did not practice castration. The fact is that many Plains tribes practiced it, some like the Nez Perce for purposes of selective breeding, some like the Hidatsa ceremonially. Most tribes were better breeders and took better care of their horses than Dr. Wyman believes. This book can serve the student of the West, since it brings together a great deal of hitherto widely dispersed information. The student will need to exercise constant care with it, however, and will wish that the author had given it a straightforward, logical continuity.

BERNARD DeVOTO

#### FRENCH ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA: AN ARCHIVAL CALENDAR-GUIDE.

By *Abraham P. Nasatir*, Professor of History, San Diego State College. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1945, pp. xiii, 559, \$10.00.) The volume has a wider appeal than is suggested by its title. It does not disclose merely what the French did; it records what they observed. Their comments are not limited to California, but extend to the Isthmus and the Hawaiian Islands, as well as to Oregon, Texas, Mexico, and power politics in the Pacific generally. Special attention should be directed to the astute analysis of American strength and weaknesses made by the French consul, Jacques Antoine Moerenhout (pp. 121-32). Although Dr. Nasatir examined eleven French depositories, he found the bulk of his material in four: the Foreign Archives (235 pp.), those of the Marine Hydrographic Survey (48 pp.), the Archives Nationales (10 pp.), and the Bibliothèque Nationale (90 pp.). Appendixes include a description of sources found in England (37 pp.), Spain (11 pp.), and United States Department of State (24 pp.); a list of other archival guides (3 pp.); and a contemporary account by Patrice Dillon of California during the last months of 1849 (18 pp.). With very few exceptions, the material has been translated into English and is arranged in archival order. It is preceded by a 59-page sketch of French activities in California, which unfortunately is limited to the period prior to statehood, whereas the manuscripts calendared generally extend to 1856, and in the case of the "Correspondance Politique: Îles Sandwich," to 1870. Dr. Nasatir relied heavily upon the guides to manuscript materials published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, but he has supplemented them by giving a fuller description—often a complete quotation—of the items listed, as well as annotations stating where the material has been published. Lack of an index constitutes a serious defect, and the reviewer wonders whether microfilm publication might not have been as useful as the excellent, but more expensive, lithograph form employed. Yet thanks instead of criticism are due Dr. Nasatir for his altruism in undertaking the laborious but highly commendable task of making

his notes available for others, instead of hoarding them for future exploitation in his own publications.

LAWRENCE A. HARPER

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## Latin-American History

John J. Johnson

#### GENERAL

- O DESCOBRIMENTO DA AMERICA E A SUPOSTA PRIORIDADE DOS PORTUGUESES (DE ACORDO COM A HISTORIA E A CARTOGRAFIA AMERICANA VETUSTISSIMA). By Thomaz Oscar Marcondes de Souza. Prefácio de J. Capistrano de Abreu. (São Paulo, Editora Brasiliense, 1944, pp. 245.) This volume is a second edition "correta y ampliada" of *A descoberta da América*, which appeared in 1912. The author considers one by one the possibilities of a pre-Columbian discovery of America by southern Europeans and secondly evaluates the claims made for the alleged precursors of Vicente Yáñez Pinzón on the coast of Brazil. Marcondes de Souza's conclusions, which are in substantial accord with the findings of Samuel Eliot Morison, in *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1940), are that there is not sufficient evidence for accrediting anyone but Columbus with the discovery, and secondly, that while Pinzón was the first European captain to sight present-day Brazil, the effective discovery undoubtedly belongs to Pedro Álvares Cabral. The author has made use of numerous documents, contemporary sources, and pertinent secondary publications. Forty-eight pages of documents are



reproduced at the end of the work. The volume is unusually well footnoted and deserves serious consideration by those interested in the period under discussion.

## ARTICLES

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\* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

## American Historical Association

There will be no program meeting of the American Historical Association in 1945. Conditions of travel and the justifiable policy of the Office of Defense Transportation have led the Executive Committee to vote the cancellation of the meeting in Washington. As a substitute, the arrangements three years ago in a similar contingency will be repeated. There will be a meeting of the Council, or at least of the Executive Committee, a business meeting, and the annual dinner with the President's address. Any further dates and details will be included with the ballot, which will be mailed early in November.

The following letter closes the circle of those elected in December, 1944, to honorary membership in the American Historical Association. For reasons of security no attempt was made to reach Professor Friis until Denmark was liberated. His letter echoes sentiments expressed in many of the other acceptances.

BERNSTORFFSVEJ 32  
COPENHAGEN  
August 16, 1945

*The American Historical Association*  
*Washington*

DEAR SIRs,—

On the 9th of August I received the information that the American Historical Association had elected me an honorary member at their meeting on the 28th of December 1944.

I gratefully accept the distinction conferred upon me and express my great pleasure at being admitted to the circle of American historians whose activities I have learned to appreciate in the course of years, and among whom there have been a number of eminent scholars with whom I have collaborated directly or indirectly in fruitful work, not least through the valuable contributions made to international historical research in the period between the two great wars, amongst others by such men as the late Franklin Jameson and the still so prominently active Waldo G. Leland.

The American Historical Association will understand that the honour conferred on me stirs warm feelings in me precisely at this moment when I think of how the liberation of Denmark and thus also the assurance of the free and independent development of Danish culture and science has been largely brought about by the magnificent contribution of America to the struggle against the dictator states now terminating in victory, a struggle during which Denmark too has suffered great hardships. That development which caused the American Commonwealth as a whole to join her mighty forces now and, it is to be hoped in the future too, with those of the rest of the free democratic world, thus increasing the fellow



feeling during mankind's battle for rehabilitation after the disasters of the last decades, is one of the brightest spots in that dark time which my generation has lived through. In warm recognition of what the American people and American science have meant and will in future mean to mankind, I repeat my thanks for the great distinction conferred upon me.

Sincerely yours

AAGE FRIIS

## Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: thirty-one reels of microfilms of the Pleitos de Colon (original manuscripts in Spanish archives), pertaining mainly to Christopher Columbus; photostats of Proceso contra Balthasar de Sotelo (first of three parts in the proceedings against the Sotelo brothers in the Avila-Cortés conspiracy), Mexico, 1565 to 1568; four additional boxes of papers of the Biddle family of Philadelphia, 1655 to 1926; one reel of microfilms of papers, mainly letters to Isaac Briggs, 1691-1886; a manuscript volume of the "Standing Orders" of the House of Lords, British Parliament, [ca. 1748]; nine documents pertaining to British fortifications and finances, 1755, including one signed by George III; contemporary copy of orders of Major General William Shirley to Colonel Thomas Dunbar, August 12, 1755; letters to Governor Horatio Sharpe from Robert Dinwiddie, August 25, 1755, and from John Stanwix, April 10, 1760; photostats of twenty autograph letters, chiefly of American statesmen, 1757 to 1923 (originals in possession of Mr. Alexander William Armour); George Washington's autograph copies of "Gen. Murray's Order of Battle 19<sup>th</sup> Aug.<sup>t</sup> 1759," and of original plans used by Generals Amherst, Wolfe, and Murray in battle, against the French; photostat copy of *Eines hungrigen Bettelkindes einfältige Trauben-[Nahrung]* . . . 1760 (German pietistic hymn book with manuscript annotations); one additional box of papers of the Shippen family of Philadelphia, 1760 to 1853; photostats of thirty-seven letters, chiefly of British and American statesmen, 1767 to 1861, from Mrs. Archibald Crossley's autograph collection; photostats of records from the Henry family Bible, Virginia, 1769 to 1911; letter of Abijah Hammond to Thomas Cushing, October 24, 1789; letter of Thomas Pownall to Benjamin Franklin; twelve letters of Tobias Lear to Robert Brent and others, April, 1794, to December 14, 1815; letter of John Marshall to Hudson Martin, November 16, 1795; one box of papers of Benjamin Homans, 1796 to 1840; commission of William C. C. Claiborne as governor of Louisiana, signed by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison May 25, 1801; copy of letter of Albert Gallatin to William Few, May 9, 1813; "Méritos y ejercicios literarios de Don José Antonio de Joya y Mena, Cura del Pueblo de Sayula en el Obispado de Guadalajara de Indias," 1816; a school notebook of Mary Ann Randolph Custis, 1823; three reels of microfilms of correspondence (1823-1825) of

Heman Allen, United States minister to Chile, Archivo Nacional, Chile; five letters (originals or reproductions) of James K. Polk to Alfred Flournoy, January 31, 1827, to September 14, 1835; two letters of R. Hinman to Peter Force, February 1 and 9, 1836; one box of papers of Theodore Parker, 1832 to 1863; ten letters or papers of James G. Clark, 1832 to 1866; one additional box of papers of Henry Ward Beecher, 1838 to 1878; an autograph poem, "Sonnet to Liberty," by William Lloyd Garrison, December 14, 1840; letter of Bayard Taylor to Orville J. Victor, May 27, 1856; eighteen additional boxes of papers of Robert G. Ingersoll, 1858 to 1934; letter of Fernando Wood, December 1, 1859; letter of Charles F. Brunson to Y. L. Klein, March 17, 1863; seven letters and documents of James S. Mitchell, 1864 to 1883; letter of John Greenleaf Whittier to Richard Mott Pinkham, July 18, 1866; ten additional boxes of Waldo Lee McAtee's collection of handwriting specimens of scientists, ca. 1882 to 1945; one volume "Index to Narrative of L[ewis] T[appen]"; letter of John Bright, December 23, 1880; additional papers of Frederick Haynes Newell, 1885 to 1932; one volume diary of William Howard Taft, October 14 to November 9, 1907; one folder of papers of Alexander Meikeljohn, 1909 to 1923, including nine letters of Woodrow Wilson; letter of Woodrow Wilson to Job H. Lippincott, November 3, 1910; one box of papers of Royal Meeker, 1911 to 1922, including letters of Woodrow Wilson; twelve additional packages of papers of the American Historical Association, ca. 1929 to 1936; and twenty-nine boxes of papers submitted to the editor of *Puissant Poets, The Stars and Stripes*, 1943 to 1945, relating to the Mediterranean theater of World War II (restricted).

German surrender documents signed at Luneburg, Reims, and Berlin have been viewed by hundreds of people daily at the National Archives, after being unveiled by Maj. Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe in a colorful ceremony. They have been incorporated into the current exhibit, "President Roosevelt and International Cooperation for War and Peace," made up of Franklin D. Roosevelt Library materials and Federal records. The surrender documents will soon be available in facsimile as a publication of the National Archives. It will be for sale by the Superintendent of Documents. The series of *Reference Information Circulars*, describing materials in the National Archives relating to strategic geographic areas and to subjects such as disposition of surplus property and termination of economic control by government agencies following World War I, is now available for general distribution. As long as the supply lasts the *Circulars* may be obtained upon request from the Assistant Administrative Secretary, National Archives, Washington. Also available are "Let's Look at the Record," by Solon J. Buck, reprinted from the *American Archivist*, and *The Proposed Government Film Repository*, by John G. Bradley. Recent additions to records in the National Archives include some of the older records that still remained outside the custody of the archivist. Among them were Post Office Department registers and journals,

1828-1934; drawings and photographs of Federal buildings no longer in the possession of the government, 1885-1945; records of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company and the Canal Towage Company for the fifty years prior to the purchase of the canal by the government in 1938; records of the district court for the Southern district of New York, 1789-1912; and a small group of Interior Department records, 1854-79, relating to colonization of free Negroes and the suppression of the slave trade, which were received from the Library of Congress. As the result of a recent transfer from the State Department, the records of that department in the custody of the archivist are nearly complete through the year 1929. Among other material recently transferred to the National Archives are selective service records of World War I, central files of the Adjutant General's Office, 1917-25, records of the Great Lakes Naval Training Center, 1911-39, and Office of War Information records, 1931-44.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has recently received from Mrs. Roosevelt a considerable body of letters and papers relating to the period of her residence in Albany, January, 1929-February, 1933, and to the latter part of the Washington period, January, 1938-April, 1945. The first group includes formal invitations received by Mrs. Roosevelt; drafts and final copies of articles written by her for magazines and newspaper syndicates; copies of radio addresses made from December 9, 1932, to March 3, 1933; and correspondence and reports relating to her activities during the 1932 presidential campaign. Mrs. Roosevelt's gift of her White House correspondence supplements a previous gift of similar materials covering the earlier years, and the library now has her Washington papers for the entire period 1933-45. She has also given the library the many thousands of letters of condolence received by her following President Roosevelt's death and a scrapbook of memorandums and drafts of his speeches of the period 1929-38, originally compiled by Marguerite Le Hand. In addition to informal chits and memorandums of the sort that pass between an executive and his staff, this scrapbook contains an autograph reading copy of an address, "The Age of Social Consciousness," given by Mr. Roosevelt before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University on June 17, 1929; an autograph copy of his proclamation designating November 30, 1933, as Thanksgiving Day; and an autograph copy of the address delivered by him at the lighting of the community Christmas tree in Washington, D. C., on December 24, 1933. Miss Grace Tully, personal secretary to President Roosevelt at the time of his death, has given the library a volume containing the first and final drafts of his 1933 inaugural address. The women's division of the Democratic national committee has given the library the correspondence and other papers of its national headquarters office in Washington for the years 1936-44. In these files are letters from party workers in the states to officials of the headquarters staff, with copies of the replies, on the many aspects of maintaining a political organization and running campaigns. Copies of speeches made during the several presidential campaigns, samples of campaign literature used, and lists of members are

also included. The papers of President Roosevelt that were in the White House at the time of his death, amounting to approximately 9,000 cubic feet, are now in storage awaiting settlement of his estate, after which it is expected that they will be deposited in the library.

The National Archives announces that it has available for distribution to libraries, universities, and research institutions surplus copies of printed and near-print material produced by the National Recovery Administration and received by the National Archives with the records of the Administration. This material is of exceptional value for the study of all phases of American economic conditions not only for the period of 1933-37 but for antecedent periods as well. One group of material deals with the "codes of fair competition," which were drawn up for various trades and industries, and includes copies of the codes, of amendments thereto, of transcripts of hearings leading to the formulation of codes and amendments, and of "code histories" and "code administration studies," which record the experience of specific industries under the codes. Another group consists of studies and collections of economic data made in the course of research and planning activities, or—after the Schechter decision—as a part of the self-analysis and institutional autobiography undertaken by the NRA before its final dissolution. Included in this group are copies of the "Report of the President's Committee of Industrial Analysis," a summary of the work of the NRA published after its termination, and of certain more intensive studies and compilations. In the latter category are "work materials" (studies of industrial, trade practice, labor, legal, and NRA administrative problems), "evidence studies" (reports on specific industries, dealing with their nature, size, technology, and relationships to interstate commerce), "statistical materials" (supplements to the "evidence studies," containing basic data on pay rolls, wages and hours, sales, prices, product values, and exports and imports), "price studies" (on the price mechanism in general and on the price structure of specific commodities), and a number of miscellaneous reports of a legal, economic, and social nature bearing upon or arising out of NRA administration. Copies of these materials or information about them may be obtained by writing to the General Reference Division of the National Archives, Washington 25, D. C. Copies will be distributed in response to requests, insofar as the supply permits, until January 1, 1946. Lists of the more important materials are also available.

The Wyoming Stock Growers Association has presented to the University of Wyoming their complete files for the years 1873-1920. Now located in the library of the university, this collection is probably the most complete of its kind. Letters, letterpress books, minute books of the executive committee and annual meetings, circulars, early newspapers including one volume of the *Northwestern Live Stock Journal* by Asa Mercer, roundup maverick books, reports of stock inspectors, scrap-books, brand books, and many pictures are among the materials included in the

files. With other historical collections in the library, the Stock Growers papers are open for the use of qualified scholars.

The Committee on Research in Economic History met at Toronto, Canada, on May 11-13. Its actions included confirmation of a substantial subsidy toward the publication (jointly with the American Historical Association) of Professor Louis C. Hunter's history of steamboating on the Mississippi, and extension of the time of grants to Professor G. Heberton Evans, jr., of Johns Hopkins for a study of American corporate development, to Professor Kent T. Healy of Yale for an inquiry into the nature of entrepreneurial decision in the case of railroad capital commitments, and to Mrs. Anna Jacobson Schwartz of the National Bureau of Economic Research for a history of banking in Pennsylvania. A new grant was voted in support of the study of C. C. Washburn as an important entrepreneur, now being carried on by Professor C. L. Marquette of Northland College. Arrangements were also effected whereby Professor Mary E. Murphy of Hunter College will begin work on a history of accounting in this country. These grants and extensions of previous grants were made in furtherance of the committee's primary concern with the four general fields of research: the role of government in American economic development; the role of entrepreneurship in the same process; the history of corporations in the United States; and the history of American banking. In aid of unfinished work respecting one or another of these areas, commitments have been made to Professor Milton S. Heath of the University of North Carolina (a study of politico-economic thought in Georgia); to Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth O. Walker of Reed College (a similar study with respect to Illinois); to Professor Warren C. Scoville of the University of California at Los Angeles (a history of the Libbey-Owens contributions to the revolution in the glass industry); to Professor Muriel E. Hidy of Wheaton (to complete her biography of George Peabody); to Professor James B. Hedges of Brown (a business history of the Brown family); to Professor William C. Kessler of Colgate (a study of incorporation by private act); to Professor James O. Wettereau of New York University (toward completing a history of the first United States Bank); and to Professor Walter B. Smith of Williams (to aid similarly relative to a history of the second United States Bank). The committee through its chairman, Professor Arthur H. Cole, Harvard University, is interested in making contact with scholars who are working or planning work on topics falling within the four fields of research the committee has designated as its primary concern.

Because of the seriousness of the transportation situation, the annual meeting of the Economic History Association, scheduled to be held in September at Princeton, New Jersey, was canceled.

The executive committee of the American Council of Learned Societies has voted that no committee meetings or conferences held under the auspices of the

Council or substantially assisted by its funds be held during the rest of 1945, on account of the difficulties attendant upon civilian travel. The committee suggests, however, that chairmen of committees who feel that the meetings of their committees during the period involved are essential to the interests of the Council and the work of their committees should make such representations to the executive committee as they deem appropriate in order that necessary exceptions may be allowed.

The Alexander Prize awarded by the Royal Historical Society is offered annually for an essay upon some historical subject. Candidates may select their own subject, but they must submit their choice to the literary directors for approval. The essay must be a genuine work of original research, not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. It must not exceed six thousand words in length and must be sent in on or before February 28, 1946. The essay should bear a motto and must be accompanied by a covering letter giving the author's name and address and degrees, if any. The society's address is 96, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W.10. The prize is a silver medal and the successful candidate is expected to read the essay at the last meeting of the society during the session, which is generally held on the second Saturday in June. The prize for 1945 has been awarded to Mrs. Helen Suggett for her essay on "The Use of French in England in the Later Middle Ages."

The fourth annual award of the Mediaeval Academy's Haskins Medal was made at the annual meeting of the academy on April 28, 1945, at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, to Professor George Edward Woodbine of Yale for his edition of *Bracton de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*. The new committee on award consists of Sidney Painter (Johns Hopkins), chairman, R. S. Loomis (Columbia), and Miss Myrtilla Avery (Wellesley).

The Pulitzer Prize in American history was awarded this year to Stephen Bonsal for his volume entitled *Unfinished Business*. The prize in American biography went to Russel Blaine Nye for his *George Bancroft: Brahmin Rebel*.

The 1945 Alfred A. Knopf Fellowship in History has been awarded to Professors Richard Hofstadter of the University of Maryland and R. Carlyle Buley of the University of Indiana, who will share equally the \$5,000 prize. These fellowships were established in 1940 for the purpose of serving as an aid in the completion of work in progress rather than as an award for books already completed. Dr. Hofstadter will use his fellowship to work on his proposed book "Men and Ideas in American Politics," which will be a study of the principal men and ideas in the history of American politics from the time of the founding fathers to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Dr. Buley will do a book on the social history of the Old Northwest, to be called, "The Old Northwest, 1815-1840."



The alumni of Union College, Schenectady, New York, have presented \$150,000 to the college to be used as a scholarship fund in memory of Dixon Ryan Fox, late president of Union, and of alumni who have met death in the war.

Lloyd Lewis, who is preparing a life of Ulysses S. Grant, desires to see any Grant letters, diaries, or journals, as well as any letters of persons dealing with Grant that may have escaped his notice. Would anyone knowing of such material or having access to it be good enough to notify Mr. Lewis through his publishers, Little, Brown and Company, 34 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Michael Sadleir, son of the distinguished English educational leader, Sir Michael Sadleir, seeks access to any letters or documents that will aid in preparing a biography of Sir Michael. Loans or copies should be addressed to Michael Sadleir, 10, Orange Street, London, W.C.2. Original material will be returned after transcription.

Colonial Williamsburg has in preparation an index to the *Virginia Gazette*, published in Williamsburg from 1736 to 1780. For several years two papers were printed with the same name and in 1776 there were three. Because of the details in the advertisements and the news from abroad and from other colonies as well as Virginia, it is hoped that the index will be of value to students of colonial history. This compilation, which was begun by the late Dr. Hunter D. Farish, is now under the direction of Dr. Lester J. Cappon, research editor of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. He would appreciate receiving information about any copies of the *Virginia Gazette* in institutions or private hands with whom the project has not had correspondence. Colonial Williamsburg desires to obtain photostats or photoprints of such copies.

A few copies remain unsold of John Hall Stewart's *France, 1715-1815: A Guide to Materials in Cleveland* (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII [July, 1943], 856). The receipts go to the Henry E. Bourne Fund. The price is \$5.00 plus postage. Orders should be sent to the Book Store, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

The (British) Historical Association has long been known for its useful and intelligent publications for teachers, including the quarterly *History*. It has now started a new series, *Common Errors in History*. The first issue covers briefly twenty historical mistakes sent in by members because of their recurrence in examination papers. The mistakes are not student boners but are due to lack of familiarity with the latest scholarship on the part of the teachers or text writers. The idea of the series may be best illustrated by listing the topics discussed in this first issue of twenty-four pages. They are: the Prince of Wales, Columbus and the flat earth conception, the suppression of the monasteries, the monasteries and education, the union of England and Wales, religion in the New England colonies, the Commonwealth Navigation Acts, Crusoe's island, Captain Cook, the enclosure



movement, the causes of the American War of Independence, tax exemption in pre-Revolutionary France, blockade in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, the Corn Laws, the Great Trek, the first Chinese war, 1839-42, the Elementary Education Act, 1870, Gladstone and the Turks, Bismarck's alliances, the Manchurian crisis, 1931-32. The price to nonmembers is 1s. 1d. post free. The address of the association is 29, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

The following historians have been selected for the staffs of the two Army Overseas University Study Centers which have been established in England and France for American troops in the nonactive sectors: Wesley M. Gewehr, University of Maryland, chairman; William B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin; Charles Ray Wilson, Colgate University; Samuel L. Halperin, University of Chicago; Richard Bauer, Mary Washington College; James B. Ranck, Hood College; Frederick W. Ganzert, University of Utah; Harold Davis, Hiram College; Paul Bloomhardt, Wittenberg College; Paul Clyde, Duke University; William J. McNiff, Miami University; Walter B. Posey, Agnes Scott College; George Schmidt, New Jersey College for Women; Vernon Cooper, East Montana State Normal School. All the above are civilians. A number of other teachers are being recruited from the armed forces both in the United States and the European theater of operations. The center in England was opened on July 16 and the one in France on August 1. The above men will all serve from seven to twelve months.

It will be a source of gratification to students of American history to know that the passage by Congress and approval by the President of H.R. 2522 assure the continuation and completion of the series *Territorial Papers*, edited by Dr. Clarence E. Carter. That the annual struggle to keep the series alive is ended is due in part of course to the manifest interest of scholars and also in a large degree to the intelligent interest and efforts of certain members of the Congress, namely, Representatives Pete Jarman of Alabama and Thomas E. Martin of Iowa, and Senators Carl Hayden of Arizona and Harold H. Burton of Ohio.

## Personal

Arthur Howland Buffinton, professor of history at Williams College, died on June 5 at the age of fifty-seven. He was a graduate of Williams in the class of 1907 and received the doctorate degree from Harvard in 1925. He became a member of the faculty of Williams in 1911. He contributed articles on American colonial history, particularly that relating to New England and New York, to various publications. He also wrote chapters for the *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* and for the *History of the State of New York*. He was the author of the volume on *The Second Hundred Years' War* in the "Berkshire Studies in European History." For the tenth and eleventh sessions (1930-31) of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown he edited the report on the round tables and general

conferences, and wrote the booklet on the institute's first decade. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1911.

Sir John Marriott, the well-known English historian and public servant, died on June 7 at the age of eighty-five. He was trained at Oxford, where he later held lectureships, and for twenty-five years was secretary to the Oxford University Extension Delegacy. He served two terms as a Conservative member of Parliament, the first term for the Oxford constituency and the second from York. He was knighted in 1924. His writing ranged over a wide field in modern history and political science. Clearly written if not profound or novel in their scholarship they were paid the tribute due them by being recommended for collateral reading in every college course in modern European history. Among the titles are *Makers of Modern Italy*, *George Canning and His Times*, *The Life and Times of Lucius Cary*, *Viscount Falkland*, *The Remaking of Modern Europe*, *English Political Institutions*, *The French Revolution of 1848*, *The Mechanism of the Modern State*, *Evolution of Modern Europe*, *Queen Victoria and Her Ministers*, *Dictatorship and Democracy*, *Life of Castlereagh*, *Commonwealth or Anarchy*, *This Realm of England*, *The Evolution of the British Empire and Commonwealth*, *The Tragedy of Europe*, *A Short History of France*, and *Federalism and the Problem of the Small State*.

Roy V. Magers, professor of history, emeritus, in Park College, Parkville, Missouri, died May 6, 1945. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1927.

Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, professor of history at the University of North Carolina, died at a Durham hospital on May 28. Born in Roxboro on January 27, 1876, the son of Clement McGilbert and Sarah Elizabeth (Paylor) Wagstaff, he received his Ph.B. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1899 and his Ph.D. degree from Johns Hopkins University in 1906. In 1900-1902 he taught mathematics at Rutherford College and in 1906-1907 history and economics at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania. In 1907 he joined the history department of the University of North Carolina, where he remained until his death. His chief field of teaching was English history, but he published several works on the history of North Carolina.

Robert Thomas Thompson, associate professor of history at Rutgers University, died on April 1. He was born August 13, 1896, in North Carolina. He graduated from Wake Forest with the A.B. degree in 1917 and took the A.M. degree at the same place in 1918. Following the first World War, in which he served in the Navy, he was in residence at Yale University as a graduate student in history during the years 1922-23. He was awarded the Ph.D. degree by Columbia University in 1940, presenting as his thesis "A Study of Colonel James Nelson: A Chapter in the Early Machine Age of New Jersey." He went to Rutgers University as as-

sistant professor in history in 1926, becoming associate professor in 1940. Dr. Thompson was a scholar of integrity and imagination and teacher of rare skill. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1934.

Carl Bridenbaugh, formerly associate professor of American history at Brown University, has been elected director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. Dr. Bridenbaugh has been on military leave of absence since 1942 and at present is a lieutenant commander, U.S.N.R. serving as academic aide, Naval Training School and U. S. Naval Reserve Midshipmen's School, Fort Schuyler, New York.

James H. Rodabaugh, director of the Ohio War History Commission, has been appointed editor of the *War Records Collector* as of July 1 by President Barck of the American Association for State and Local History, to succeed Lester J. Cappon, who has resigned. Dr. Cappon found it necessary to give up this work since he is leaving the University of Virginia in the autumn to become archivist of Colonial Williamsburg and research editor of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, sponsored jointly by Colonial Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary. He will continue to serve as chairman of the committee on state and local war records of this association.

Koppel S. Pinson, professor of history at Queens College, has become executive editor of *Jewish Social Studies*, a quarterly magazine devoted to the study of contemporary and historical aspects of Jewish life. The magazine is published by the Conference on Jewish Relations, 1841 Broadway, New York 23.

Ernst Posner, professor of archival economy, has been appointed dean of the graduate division, School of Social Sciences of American University in Washington. Dr. Posner will continue to edit the section in this quarterly on the periodical literature of Germany, Switzerland, and Austria.

Bernard H. M. Vlekke, the Dutch historian, has left the United States to resume his work at the Netherlands Historical Institute in Rome.

Lewis B. Schmidt has resigned the headship of the department of history and government at Iowa State College. He will continue to hold his professorship and to devote himself to research in the field of the farmers movement in the United States from 1865 to 1945. He is succeeded in the headship of the department by Charles H. Matterson, whose special interest is modern European history.

Dumas Malone, formerly of the University of Virginia, has been appointed professor of history in Columbia University. He is to take up his new duties at the opening of the present semester.

Charles A. Barker of Stanford University has accepted a professorship in Johns Hopkins University. He will also serve as chairman of the department.

Harold W. Bradley, associate professor of history at Stanford University, has been appointed dean and professor of history at the Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, California.

E. Harris Harbison has been promoted to a professorship in history in Princeton University. Stow S. Persons has been made assistant professor of history in the same institution.

Walter C. Langsam, professor of history, Union College, Schenectady, New York, has been appointed president of Wagner Memorial Lutheran College, Staten Island.

Philip L. Ralph has resigned from the University of Mississippi to accept a position as professor and head of the department of history at Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio.

Harvey L. Carter, formerly of Ursinus College, has accepted a position as professor of history in Colorado College, Colorado Springs.

George L. Anderson, associate professor of history at Colorado College, has been appointed associate professor of American history at the University of Kansas.

Ransom E. Noble, jr., has resigned from the faculty of Washington College to accept a position in the history department at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York.

Dorothea E. Wyatt, after two years as a lieutenant in the Women's Reserve of the United States Coast Guard in the Spar Training Program, has returned to Goucher College, where she has been promoted to associate professor of history.

Richard W. Van Alstyne, formerly professor of history at Chico State College, is joining the faculty of the department of history in the University of Southern California.

Demass E. Barnes has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of Pittsburgh.

Neil A. McNall, formerly of Westminster College, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of history in New York State College for Teachers at Albany.

F. Garvin Davenport of Transylvania College (Lexington, Kentucky) will act as visiting professor at Colgate University in the fall and winter quarters.

W. Stull Holt has returned to his post as professor of American history and chairman of the history department at the University of Washington, Seattle. He has been on leave of absence since May, 1942, as an intelligence officer in the Army Air Forces.

Benjamin B. Kendrick has retired as head of the history department of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. For two years he has been on leave of absence because of serious illness.

Lowell Ragatz of the George Washington University and John Rydjord of the University of Wichita taught in the summer school at Northwestern University this past summer.

William C. Bark, since 1940 on the staff of Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin, teaching ancient and medieval history, has accepted a position as assistant professor in the University of Chicago.

Harvey Wish, who has been visiting lecturer at Smith College, has joined the faculty of Western Reserve University as associate professor of history.

Oscar J. Hammen, who has been visiting professor at the University of Nebraska for the past year, is teaching modern European history at the University of Utah, replacing W. Harold Dalglish, who is on a year's leave of absence.

Gordon T. Chappell has joined the faculty of Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Alabama, as professor of history and economics and chairman of the division of commerce, history, and political science.

Eric C. Kollman has accepted a position as professor of history and political science at Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa.

Troyer S. Anderson of the University of Iowa has accepted a call to the headship of the department of history in Hunter College, New York City. He will assume his new duties when he finishes his present assignment in the historical division of the Army.

Samuel C. McCulloch has left Oberlin College to become assistant professor of history in Amherst College.

## Communications

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Dr. Thomas P. Martin in his review of the new edition of *Historical Societies in the United States and Canada: A Handbook* in the April number of the *American Historical Review* (L, 592) is critical because, he feels, the association "has missed an opportunity to make progress towards a long-desired, much needed union list of manuscript collections." Because of the reviewer's many years of experience in the manuscript field, one can understand his desire for such a list, but he has failed to take into account the purpose and scope of the *Handbook* or the practical problems involved in compiling and editing it under wartime conditions, as a product of overtime labor, and with very limited resources. The publication contains, as he states, "a new list of names and addresses of societies with dates of organization, names of presidents and secretaries, sizes of staffs, membership, dues, annual incomes, days and hours open, brief statements on library,

museum, and copying facilities, publications, and activities." Thus, from the viewpoint of the association, the limited objective which was set has been fully reached. The organization recognizes the need for a union list of manuscripts, and invites Dr. Martin to co-operate in its preparation when conditions are more favorable. But such a project will require years for completion, and in the meantime the pressing need has been met for an up-to-date directory of historical organizations in English-speaking North America.

*Raleigh, North Carolina*

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN